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The Role of Story Telling in a Police Probationer Training Classroom

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Abstract

This thesis is about the role played by story telling in a Metropolitan Police Probationer Classroom in South London in the early 1990s. The method used is one of discourse analysis of the type advocated by Potter and Wetherall, (1987). The form and function of themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are considered in this setting. The central argument here is that all these types of story are used to introduce an element of work place practice into the classroom context. This serves to motivate the students to learn by emphasising the relevance of the lesson material. Such motivation gives rise to student involvement in the classroom activity. In this way, the pedagogical goals of experiential learning and student involvement are achieved and a broader cultural value favouring practice over theory is realised.

As with all stories, themes, role-plays, case studies and hypothetical accounts are subject to the constraint of verisimilitude. This thesis suggests that the way in which verisimilitude is defined and applied in any given setting is highly context dependent. In this setting, verisimilitude focuses on the cognitive and task oriented elements of experiences that the students are thought to be likely to encounter in their work place. Stories that deviate from this focus might result in the students becoming bored or distracted; this may result in a situation in which the objectives of the curriculum are not met. For these reasons, trainers endeavour to control the use of stories by influencing every aspect of their telling. The rigour with which this definition of verisimilitude is applied in this setting varies according to the type of the story to be told and the lesson material in which it is to be used. Judgements of verisimilitude are more rigorous when stories that are likely to exert high attentional or emotional demands on the students are used.

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Introduction

This thesis is about the stories that are told in a Metropolitan Police Probationer Classroom in South London. It is about the nature of those stories and the extent of their use, it is about the functions that may be served by their telling and, last but by no means least, it is about the general constraints underpinning their use.

This chapter is intended to set the scene for the research reported in this thesis. In so doing, it begins by considering how the term “story” might be defined and of the forms it takes in this setting. This is followed by a discussion outlining the broad theoretical influences impacting on the analysis of story function and constraint in this study. The chapter then concludes with a summary and a brief overview of the contents of this thesis.

Story Definitions and Form

In a general sense, the term “story” usually refers to the reporting of some kind of event or incident when it is commonly used. An example of this may be found in the Oxford Modern English Dictionary in which “story” is defined as:

“An account of imaginary or past events: a narrative tale or anecdote. The past course of the life of a person or institution etc. The narrative or plot of a novel, play etc. Facts or experiences that deserve narration. A fib or lie. A narrative or descriptive item of news.”

Oxford Modern English Dictionary (1994) p. 1079

In research, the term “story” may be defined in a number of different ways, depending on the purposes for which the definition is used. Such definitions relate primarily either to structure or content.

Definitions focusing primarily on structure tend to be used in research having as its goal the discovery of the deep or underlying elements on which different genres of story are founded. The work of cognitive psychologists into story grammars (for example, Thorndyke, 1977) and anthropologists operating within the structuralist tradition (for example, Levi-Strauss, 1966) provide a useful example of this kind of research.

Definitions that focus primarily on content tend to be used in research that has an elucidation of the functions of storytelling as its goal. In these circumstances, the definition is not usually made explicit. Where a definition is made explicit, it is usually limited to references about the duration and complexity of stories that are used in the research setting (for example, Shearing and Ericson, 1991). More commonly, the definition of story in this kind of research tends to be an implicit one that depends on how narrative is used in the setting for the research and in the context of its reporting.

The distinction between the focal points of these types of definition, is not, however, always such a clear-cut one. Of special importance to this thesis are the views expressed by Bruner (1986) about a narrative mode of thought (noted in more detail below). Bruner expresses these views as part of a broader thesis in which he claims that stories imply culturally appropriate ways of thinking about events, activity and the self. Unusually for a functional account, he provides an explicit definition of story when he suggests that its “timeless underlying theme” consists of characters, a plight into which those characters have fallen and an unequal distribution of consciousness between those characters with respect to that plight (Bruner, 1986 p.21). Bruner formulates this definition as part of a much wider analysis into how stories might engage the listeners’ imagination. Here he suggests that it is the relationship between these components of story that serve this purpose. While it may be argued that this definition focuses on content rather than structure because it refers to the broad

components of story in a non-sequential manner, its general nature does seem to admit of some structural properties.

While such a definition undoubtedly serves Bruner's purposes, a preliminary attempt to specify the components underpinning stories in police probationer training did not seem to advance the research reported in this thesis. This may have been the case because the research question in this thesis is different from that of Bruner's: Bruner set out to explore the means by which stories impact on an audience, this thesis sets out to explore the purposes for which stories are told.

Storytellers in the classroom setting in which this research took place are primarily concerned with what the content of stories can do in advancing their pedagogical and professional ideologies, rather than with structure. For this reason, a definition of "story" focusing on content has been used for the purposes of this research. In particular, it has been taken to mean:

Any account of an event, whether it is implied that such an event actually occurred or whether it is entirely fictitious and whether the details of that event are either made explicit or are based on a more substantial appeal to common knowledge.

This definition of story focuses on the reporting of an event because the concept tends to carry this notion with it when it is commonly used in the

broader cultural context in which this research took place (as is suggested by the quotation from the Oxford Modern English Dictionary, above). The rest of the definition emerges from an analysis of the data reported in this thesis. In the chapters that follow, it will be suggested that some such events are presented as though they actually occurred while others are presented as being more fictitious and that some events are reported in detail while others rely rather more substantially on an appeal to common knowledge.

The stories used in this classroom setting take five forms:

- (i) Themes.
- (ii) Role-plays.
- (iii) Case studies.
- (iv) Anecdotes.
- (v) Hypothetical accounts.

Most of the themes used to link the material from different lessons together in this setting amount to stories. Role-plays and case studies form a considerable proportion of the training methods outlined in the trainers' lesson notes. Anecdotes and hypothetical accounts form a

substantial proportion of the talk in the plenary sessions in this setting. Anecdotes refer to stories of events past and hypothetical accounts refer to events that might take place in the future.

The concepts of “role-play” and “case study” were explicitly referred to by the participants in this setting. These categories of story may be found in the data itself. The concepts of “story theme”, “anecdote” and “hypothetical account” emerged during the process of analysis rather than being explicit in the data. This matter is more fully considered in the methodology chapter on pages 71 to 73 of this thesis.

This list is by no means exhaustive of all the stories that are used in police probationer training. This thesis does not, for example, set out to explore the written stories that feature in the students’ distance-learning material. Rather it limits itself to an analysis of the stories that are used in the classroom.

Story Functions and Constraints: Theoretical Influences

Bruner’s (1986) views on narrative thinking were an important influence on the research reported in this thesis. Of particular interest here is the suggestion that there are two modes of thought: one based on logic (referred to as the paradigmatic mode) and the other based on narrative. Each mode is regarded as distinct and separate from the other; they

differ in their goals and in their means of pursuing them. The paradigmatic mode has as its goal general causes and, as its means of pursuing them, procedures intended to ensure verifiability and empirical truth. The application of this mode leads to argument. The narrative mode, on the other hand, has as its goal "not truth but verisimilitude" (Bruner, 1986 p.11) and it uses "human or human-like intention and action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course" (Bruner, 1986 p.17) as a means to this end. The application of this mode of thought leads to story.

From Bruner's perspective, verisimilitude may be regarded as a general constraint on which stories can be told. This applies equally to anecdotal accounts of everyday events as it does to children's fantasy stories (for example, characters featured within them are, from Bruner's point of view, obliged them to display "human-like" intention even where they are animals or mythological creatures). It seems that even the fantastic may be regarded as conforming to the constraint of verisimilitude.

Shirley Brice Heath (1982) develops this idea when she suggests that the viability of a story is constrained by the social context in which it is told. Here, Heath reports on the storytelling practices of three communities in North America. In the community she refers to as "Trackton", Heath notes that the stories told by children contain a great deal of fantasy. By contrast, the stories told in the "Roadville" community are limited to accounts of real-world events. From the point of view of the Trackton

residents, the narrative accounts told in Roadville are not stories. From the point of view of the Roadville residents, the stories told in Trackton are lies. In practice the children of both communities experience difficulty when encountering the third definition of story, which is promoted in school and by the residents of "Maintown". According to this definition the children might be asked questions requiring them to openly engage in a limited amount of speculation from the material presented in the account. From this point of view, what counts as a story depends on how verisimilitude is defined and applied in any given social context, a matter that is largely determined by the language practices of the community. The ways in which the concept "story" is defined is focused on content and is heavily context dependent in this research.

While Bruner emphasises the distinctive nature of each mode of thought, he spends little time exploring the relationship between them. His comments here are limited to making the point that many scientific and mathematical hypotheses start out as little stories. He goes on to suggest that the search for scientific truth may be a small part of a broader question focusing on how we imbue experience with meaning, a question that is of considerable concern to the storyteller and to this thesis.

Baumeister and Newman (1994) have developed Bruner's analysis of these modes of thought in respect of their nature and in terms of the relationship between them. Bruner's treatment of the two modes suggests that he is referring to mental processes. Baumeister and

Newman go a little further than this when they make a number of claims concerning the content of each mode. Here it is suggested that the paradigmatic (or propositional) mode "involves" context-free abstractions, that it is "based" on general laws and that it "typically concerns" the relationship between the individual cases and more inclusive conceptual categories. The narrative mode, on the other hand, "involves coherent stories about particular experiences which are temporally structured and context-sensitive" (Baumeister and Newman, 1994 p.677). Baumeister and Newman go on to suggest that the narrative mode effectively represents everyday understanding, access to the paradigmatic mode is gained when an individual chooses to do some extra cognitive work on the narrative mode in a bid to establish generalisations. The principles and other propositional knowledge that arise from generalisations within the paradigmatic mode may then be used to provide a framework in which later stories may be shaped. In this way the narrative mode represents a preliminary stage on the journey to paradigmatic understanding while paradigmatic understanding may be used to shape narratives.

Gerrig (1994) has, however, criticised this analysis by suggesting that the distinction between the two modes cannot be as consistently and validly applied as Baumeister and Newman would have us believe. Gerrig's argument proceeds on two fronts. First he challenges the value of extending Bruner's analysis from a model based on mental processes to a model embracing mental representation. He does this by pointing out

that work by cognitive psychologists seems to suggest that generalisations emerge as an inevitable consequence of the way that memories are stored in long-term memory, rather than as a result of any additional cognitive endeavours. Secondly, Gerrig uses the data presented by Baumeister and Newman to demonstrate that propositional knowledge does more than shape the construction of new accounts, it is used to select and adapt stories so that they are appropriate to the purposes for which they are told.

While there are some differences in the detail and emphases of these accounts, there is an acknowledgement by both Baumeister and Newman and Gerrig of the influence of prior knowledge on the construction of new stories. In the chapters that follow, this thesis will argue that the construction of stories is constrained by the way in which verisimilitude is defined and applied in this setting and that verisimilitude is very much a product of past experience.

Both logico-scientific and narrative forms of thought are a means of making sense of experience because each provides "... distinct ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality..." (Bruner, 1986 p.11). Taking this into account with Vygotsky's (1986) views on the development of thought by the internalisation of social context, it might be suggested that narrative (and logico-scientific) thought form part of the social environment to be appropriated by novices. From this point of view, stories might be regarded as an inter-mental resource for making

sense of experience and, as such, a part of the context of a social setting. This is particularly true if context is viewed as an inter-mental phenomenon (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). In these circumstances, the use of narrative serves a number of important functions in social life.

According to Baumeister and Newman (1994), narrative serves a number of intra and inter personal functions. The intrapersonal functions of narrative all amount to a means of making sense of experience and include:

- (i) The motivation to interpret events as intentionally and causally linked to actual or possible subsequent events. These subsequent events may amount to either specific goals or more general fulfilment states.
- (ii) The motivation for justification (this provides a basis for believing that what one does is right and good).
- (iii) The need for efficacy (in the sense of being able to make a difference and to control the environment).
- (iv) The need to bolster or defend against threats to one's self-worth (this is close to the motivation for justification but looks at the whole person rather than specific actions).

While most of this paper is devoted to the discussion of these intrapersonal functions, Baumeister and Newman also suggest that narrative serves four interpersonal functions:

- (i) As a means of obtaining some reward (i.e. to generate sympathy).
- (ii) As a means of causing others to recognise one's identity claims.
- (iii) To pass along information.
- (iv) To entertain.

The function of most interest to this thesis is the interpersonal function associated with the passing of information since it is this that includes teaching. In respect of this, Bruner suggests “.... stories define the range of anatomical characters, the settings in which they operate, the actions that are *permissible and comprehensible and thereby they provide, so to speak, a map of possible worlds in which action, thought and self-definition are permissible*” (Bruner, 1986 p. 66). What is “possible” in this sense is a matter for cultural practice. From this perspective, storytelling may be viewed as a means of enculturation. As such, it also serves a number of functions within the socio-cultural domain of analysis. In

particular, stories are used to define and defend a group as well as being a measure of competence within it (for example, Dingwall, 1977).

From this point of view, narrative might be thought of as a cultural means of making sense of past experience and as a cultural resource for future action (Shearing and Ericson, 1991).

Summary

This chapter sets the scene for the research reported in this thesis by providing a brief account of the research setting. Following this, consideration has been given as to how “story” might be defined. The forms of story used in Metropolitan Police Probationer Training have been outlined and the theoretical influences on the analysis of function and constraint reported in this thesis have been discussed.

It has been argued that what constitutes a story is dependent on how the yard-stick by which stories are judged, verisimilitude, is defined and applied in any given social context.

Operating within the constraints of verisimilitude, stories serve a number of functions across the intra and interpersonal and socio-cultural domains of analysis.

When considered in the intrapersonal domain, the functions served by stories amount to ways of making sense of experience. Such sense making operates both reactively in that it relates to a consideration of events past and proactively in that it provides a basis for future action.

When considered in the interpersonal domain, stories are used for a variety of purposes. Of special note here is the function identified by Baumeister and Newman (1994) as a means of passing along information because it is within this function that the use of stories to teach may be best considered.

When considered in the socio-cultural domain, stories are used to define and defend a group as well as being a measure of competence within it.

When these functions are considered together, it may be that the telling of stories within educational and training settings serves to create the worlds that are possible in the context in which they are told. Once appropriated by the learner, these stories can be used as a means of making sense of experience and as a resource for future action. This analysis suggests that stories might provide a useful example of the interface between culture and cognition.

Outline of Thesis

This thesis moves on to build on these points by presenting a literature review of narrative in education and training in Chapter 2. This chapter begins with a review of the literature relating to the use of narrative in education from a general historical and cross-cultural perspective and then discusses the use of narrative in compulsory and post compulsory education. It moves on to consider the use of narrative in the workplace generally before looking at the use of narrative in police training in particular.

Chapter 3 begins by setting out the direction and theoretical framework for this research. To this end, it describes how and why the method of discourse analysis was used. Following this, the methodological issues surrounding the researcher are discussed. The two phases of the research reported in this thesis, the means of data collection in the form of audio/video recording and the processes of transcription, coding and analysis are then described. The chapter ends by considering matters relating to the validation and application of the research.

Chapter 4 considers the ideology of teaching operating in this setting. The chapter begins by considering some of the meanings of the term "ideology". The concepts of "student, learner or trainee centredness" and "experiential learning" are then discussed in terms of four distinct areas that have an impact on police probationer training. These areas consist

of the governmental area of the Home Office, the central department in the training establishment responsible for training police trainers, the central department in the police training establishment responsible for writing lesson material and the trainers themselves.

Chapter 5 acts as a bridge between the last chapter and those that follow. To this end it discusses the relationship between narrative and ideology in this setting. It does this by providing an overview of the story themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that are used, in conjunction with the functions and constraints that influence their use. The pedagogical and cultural influences from the wider professional context are introduced, the constraint of verisimilitude is discussed and the need for control is considered.

Chapter 6 explores the story themes used in this setting. Here the form taken by these weeklong themes is considered. An analysis of what constitutes a useful theme from the trainers' perspective is presented by considering the relationship between the stages that make up themes. Evaluative criteria relating to the consistency of the story and verisimilitude are considered and the issue of control is discussed. The relationship between the story themes as general organising frameworks and the way in which they become manifest to the students through role-plays and case studies is noted.

Chapter 7 considers role-plays. It is suggested that role-plays consist of three stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing. Functions linking the use of role-play to the prevailing ideology in this setting are discussed in terms of the introduction of work place practice in the classroom being seen as a means of encouraging greater student involvement in the lesson. The trainers' view that the more successful role-plays are those having a closer relationship to events in the work place is considered in terms of verisimilitude. The control of role-plays to ensure verisimilitude prior to and during their use is described.

Chapter 8 considers case studies. Like role-plays, case studies consist of three stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing. It is suggested that verisimilitude focuses on the cognitive and task orientated elements of work-place practice in this setting. When case studies conform to this definition of verisimilitude they are seen as being relevant to the students. When they are seen as being relevant, they are considered to motivate learning, to facilitate involvement and to foster mental images. The idea that standards of verisimilitude are lower for case studies than for story themes and role-plays is discussed. The possibility that a lower standard of verisimilitude allows for a greater coverage of lesson objectives but gives rise to discipline problems is considered.

Chapter 9 considers anecdotes. It is suggested that three types of anecdote are used in this setting: personal, semi-personal and historical. It is claimed that trainers tell anecdotes when a lesson is underway as

part of an explanation and in order to clarify complex concepts. It is also suggested that trainers elicit anecdotes from students at the beginning of a lesson or a new topic to assess their level of experience and to use as a resource for emphasising the relevance of the lesson material. Influences from broader cultural setting are noted. The constraint of verisimilitude is acknowledged although it is suggested that lower standards of verisimilitude apply to anecdotes as they do to case studies.

Chapter 10 considers hypothetical accounts. It is suggested that, in contrast to anecdotes, hypothetical accounts are told by trainers as part of a question at the beginning of a lesson or new topic as well as being used as part of an explanation when the lesson or topic is underway. Trainers also tend to elicit hypothetical accounts from students when a lesson is already underway, rather than at the start of a new topic as is the case with anecdotes. These differences between the use of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are discussed. The use of hypothetical accounts by trainers to foster mental images is considered. The possibility that less rigorous judgements of verisimilitude are applied to hypothetical accounts than to story themes and role-plays is noted.

Chapter 11 sets out to draw this analysis together and provide a conclusion. To this end the chapter reviews the theoretical influences on this research and previous literature discussed in Chapter 2 in the light of the findings. The functions of introducing workplace practice, motivation, involvement, imagery and clarification are considered together and in

conjunction with the different types of story used in this setting. The way in which verisimilitude is defined in this setting is discussed, as are variations in the rigour with which it is applied. Differences in the way stories are controlled in this setting are noted. The implications of this research and suggestions for further research are outlined.

An appendix is included in this thesis. It consists of a glossary of terms found in the data presented and two transcripts of classroom talk.

Literature Review

This chapter sets out to review the literature previously published on storytelling in education and training. In endeavouring to do this, the chapter begins with an account of narrative in compulsory and post-compulsory education. This is followed by a consideration of the use of narrative in the work place generally and in police training in particular.

Narrative in Education

The use of narrative in education is by no means new. The Homeric Greeks, for example, passed on their traditional values by oral means through epic poems, notably, the Iliad and the Odyssey (Havelock, 1976), Plato wrote stories about his teacher, Socrates, to illustrate the points he wished to make. The Old Testament, a historic narrative, forms the basis of Judaism while the New Testament provides an account of the life of Christ for Christian tradition. Within the New Testament, there are many reports of the telling of stories in the form of parables by Jesus

of Nazareth. These stories are the concrete manifestations of the more abstract ideas of appropriate conduct in Christian tradition.

From a cross-cultural perspective, storytelling may be seen as a feature of formal and informal education in societies both “traditional” and “modern”. Jayakshmi (1993) provides useful example of this when he suggests that the use of storytelling during the process of teaching in an Indian Secondary School may stem from its association with the more traditional forms of instruction encountered in Gurulaka and Harikatha teaching.

Within modern western culture, the use of narrative as a teaching device begins long before children are exposed to settings of compulsory education. For example, following a study involving seventh and eighth grade Canadian children, Freedman and Pringle (1984) suggest that an inability to construct argument arises from exposure to narrative from an early age. Alternatively, Dunn suggests that narrative has considerable value in that it has a powerful effect in generating images of “a particular self in a particular culture” (Dunn, 1988 p.142). It seems that the value of narrative depends upon what one is evaluating.

Working from a socio-linguistic perspective, William Labov (1972) suggests that the complexity of evaluative syntax in narrative develops with age. During the course of his study of the vernacular speech used by African Americans in Harlem, Labov examined the narratives told by

pre-adolescents (age 10-12 years), adolescents (age 13-16 years) and adults. For the purposes of his study, Labov takes the term “narrative” to mean “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred” for the (Labov, 1972 p. 359 and 361).

Labov’s method was to ask those he studied a “Danger of Death” question (Labov, 1972, p.354) during the section of an interview dealing with fights. For this reason, most of the narratives that form the basis of Labov’s analysis focus on the behaviour of the storyteller and serve to support a self-image consistent with the cultural values of the gang.

The principal relevance of Labov’s study to that reported in this thesis lies in his analysis of narrative rather than in his conclusions regarding the development of evaluative syntax. Here, Labov draws a contrast between what he refers to as “minimal narratives” and “fully-formed narratives”. “Minimal narratives” are those consisting of at least two temporally ordered clauses whereas “fully-formed” or “complete” narratives” include the following elements:

1. Abstract,
2. Orientation,
3. Complicating Action,
4. Evaluation,
5. Result or resolution; and

6. Coda.

The “abstract” amounts to one or two clauses that summarise the story. A sequence of “orientation” consists of a number of clauses identifying the time, place, people and their activity or the situation. “Complicating action” *refers to the temporally ordered clauses that make up the sequence of events* (also characterised as “narrative clauses” by Labov, 1972). “Evaluation” refers to the point of telling the story and “result” amounts to the resolution of the sequence of events. The “coda” is an optional clause that is used by a storyteller for signalling that the story has finished.

The problems of using these elements as an analytic scheme have been documented by Edwards (1997) and will be considered in some of the chapters that follow.

Narrative appears in the talk of the compulsory education classroom in at least two respects: in the formal sense of curricula oriented goals and in the less formal idiosyncratic sense of an individual's behaviour.

In the formal sense, the curriculum dictates that narrative be taught in schools. This becomes manifest in a number of ways. For example, storybooks may be used in the classroom as a means of developing reading skills and comprehension. In the case of older children, literature may be taught because it is valued in itself by the educational authorities

of the day, some evidence of this may be found in the presence of the works of authors like Shakespeare in the English curriculum. According to Egan (1988) the use of such materials should generally to be encouraged because they foster the development of the imagination as a result of the power that stories have in creating powerful images in the mind of the listener.

In the informal, more idiosyncratic sense, stories may be used by teachers to illustrate a variety of concepts that they wish to teach their students. One type of this kind of story-telling may be found in the occasional elicitation of "out-of-school" experiences described by Edwards and Mercer in their discussion of "displaced context" (Edwards and Mercer, 1987 p.69). "Displaced context" refers to subject matter that is in some way remote from the context of the classroom itself. The use of this type of context is only permitted by the teacher where it is deemed to be relevant and considered to be common knowledge to the pupils in the class itself. Edwards and Mercer also report other forms of this type of narrative in the classroom, for example, Mercer (1995) notes one of the teachers that he studied tells a brief story about Galileo while teaching a session on pendulums as a concrete illustration of a general principle.

Little research has been conducted into talk in general or the telling of narratives in particular in post-compulsory education. One of the few

studies that have been conducted in this respect is, however, of relevance here.

Cooper et al (1983) explores the story-telling practices of a Professor in Agriculture in Michigan State University from an ethnographic perspective. The most obvious type of stories reported here seem to be personal anecdotes, however, Cooper et al also include in their implicit definition of "story" concrete instances of more general principles that are told in an "... organised story-like manner" (Cooper et al 1983 p. 178). This particular category of data, stemming as it does from an ethnographic analysis, appears to have arisen from comments made by the students during post-lecture interviews with the researchers. The Professor's teaching is presented as the telling of "little stories" within a "larger story framework" (Cooper et al 1983 p. 177). The notion of a "larger story framework" also seems to arise from interview data, in this instance, data from interviews with the professor himself, who is reported as saying "I have a long story to tell. The lecture is not in little segments. I don't rush through to cover X amount. I think 'What do they need to know and how best can I get it to them?'. I begin by giving them a perspective and I end by tying it together. I just like to tell a story." (Cooper et al 1983 p. 176).

Of considerable interest to this review is interview data from students which suggests that they generally found this style of teaching to be of

great value because it: "... helped them to remember by relating the class information to the real world" (Cooper et al 1983 p. 178).

While it is clearly impossible to generalise on the basis of a single ethnographic account, this data appears to be consistent with Mercer's suggestion that a good story may serve to make information "memorable". In this respect, Mercer points out that, in the classroom, "Narratives - interesting ones - can provide effective ways of formulating knowledge so that students can reconstruct it later" (Mercer, 1995 p. 27). Narratives shared and remembered in this way may be regarded as examples of "collective remembering" in action (Middleton and Edwards, 1990).

Narrative in the Work-Place

Current literature would seem to suggest that the use of narrative in the work place serve at least three broad functions:

- (i) The use of particular narrative content may define the membership of the group.
- (ii) Narrative may be used to provide an example of competent conduct in particular circumstances.

- (iii) Narrative may serve as a means of facilitating a change in attitudes and values.

Dingwall (1977) reports on the telling of what he describes as “atrocities stories” among health visitors generally and in health visitor training in particular. The term “atrocity story” refers to the telling of dramatic accounts, rather than narratives that are necessarily of a horrific nature, and was first used by Stimson and Webb (1975) in their discussion of the ways in which patients talk about and interpret their encounters with doctors. Tackling this subject from a sociological perspective, Dingwall suggests that the telling of stories within a profession serve two functions, one occupational and the other individual.

In the first instance, stories are told as a means of defending the profession from challenges to its status by other professions and as a means of inducting novices into its ranks. Dingwall considers the use of stories as a means of defending group status to be a general characteristic of professional life when he says “I would argue that we should expect to find such accounts wherever attempts are being made to control aspects of the life of some group by others whose justifications for such attempts are seen as illegitimate” (Dingwall, 1977 p.376).

Dingwall goes on to illustrate this point by exploring the doctor-health visitor relationship where the challenge is one of equality in professional status (inclusion in the medical profession) and the social worker-health

visitor and nurse-health visitor relationships where the challenge tends to be more about professional demarcation (exclusion). In this way, the telling of stories serves the purpose of defining the group that constitutes the profession. In this sense they contribute towards the shared memory of the group and as such may be regarded as further evidence of “collective remembering” in action (Middleton and Edwards, 1990).

When it comes to inducting novices into the profession, atrocity stories are first told to the student health visitors by their tutors and later between the students themselves. The stories told in this setting are not necessarily “factual accounts”, rather they are “... elements of the oral culture of a group which epitomise aspects of that culture” (Dingwall, 1977 p.385) and which tend to present the health visitor as an “... active character who triumphs over the incompetence and foolishness of others” (Dingwall, 1977 p.381). From an educational perspective, these stories appear to serve two purposes: one as a means of orientation and the other as a measure of competence. In the first instance, health visitors are drawn into their profession from the mainstream of nursing, Dingwall suggests that the telling of atrocity stories serves a useful purpose in smoothing the passage between professions. It does this by marking the boundaries of the group on the one hand and yet stressing some continuity between the professions on the other. In the second case, the ability to tell stories is seen as a mark of professional competence for members of the group at an individual level because the

ability to tell stories about the profession marks one as a member of that professional group.

At an individual level, the telling of atrocity stories in which the teller is cast as hero also offers some testimony to the reasonable character of that individual. In this way, Dingwall links the telling of atrocity stories in the workplace to storytelling as a much more general aspect of social life that serves the purpose of defending "rationality under threat" (Dingwall, 1977 p395) between any of society's social divisions (for example, ethnicity, class or gender). Such a use has something in common with the intrapersonal functions noted by Baumeister and Newman's in the last chapter.

A further example of the use of narrative in the education of health professionals may be found in Atkinson's ethnographic study of the passage of medical students through a university teaching hospital in Edinburgh (for example, Atkinson, 1981 and Atkinson and Delamont, 1977). Of particular relevance here is Atkinson's concepts of "hot" and "cold" medicine.

"Hot" medicine refers to diagnosis and treatment made by qualified doctors in the normal course of their medical duties. This could be at the time at which a patient is the subject of an emergency admission, in the normal course of surgery or in the process of a routine ward round. "Hot medicine" so defined is, in effect, the "real" business of medicine in the

hospital. Obtaining a medical history from the patient is a part of this kind of work. Such histories may well take the form of accounts in the sense that they amount to a justification of a particular course of behaviour. The elicitation of accounts in the form of case histories is a feature of working life that is by no means confined to the medical profession (for example, some of the accounts studied by Mercer and Longman, 1992, in employment training interviews amount to histories, in this case, employment histories).

Atkinson contrasts “hot medicine” with “cold medicine”. “Cold medicine” consists of the contrived interactions that students have with the patients while on teaching rounds. These rounds typically consist of a number of students visiting one or more patients on the ward while under the supervision of a teaching physician. During the “cold medicine” encounter, the students may be asked to take a medical history from and, possibly, conduct an examination of the patient. Such histories amount to a chronological account of the patient’s medical experiences and encounters, including his or her symptoms and medical treatment.

The medical history of the patient is usually well known to the teaching physician prior to the cold medicine encounter. The students may even know the patient as a result of their participation in previous bedside teaching sessions or their attachment to the hospital unit receiving emergency admissions. The students are then effectively asked to “put the clock back” and imagine that the patient has only just been admitted

to the hospital. The contrived nature of the situation (a situation similar in many ways to the role-play) may be manifested in two other ways.

First, the teaching physician may try to control the flow of information from the patient, for example, "Dennis continued, 'Do you ever have ringing in your ears?' Dr Porter looked approvingly at him. The patient replied 'No but when the doctors use what I'd call a tuning fork...' Dr Porter broke in, 'You're giving away all the trade secrets'" (Atkinson, 1981 p. 74).

Second, accounts of the patient's medical history are sometimes supplemented with comments made by the teaching physician; for example, "(In response from one of the students) the patient reported that he had not been having to pass water many times during the day. But Dr May commented 'In fact he reported frequency during the day as well...' She also explained that he had been sick the day before he came in, although on admission he did not report vomiting" (Atkinson, 1981 p. 91).

Such narrative accounts are often brought to a conclusion with a "demonstration" of the diagnostic skill of the teaching physician; here the teaching physician clearly has the advantage of having prior knowledge of the patient.

In Atkinson's terms, "cold medicine" is about the teaching of the technical skills involved in diagnosis. An American study by Hensel and Rasco (1992) suggests that narrative in the form of storytelling can be effective in the teaching of medical attitudes and values.

Hensel and Rasco (1992) begin by explaining that the use of storytelling as a teaching method is not widely accepted in the medical profession for a variety of reasons. These are associated with the view that stories are anti-scientific, too rich and imaginative in their scope and too removed from the "real" business of medicine. Hensel and Rasco acknowledge these potential difficulties and then move on to provide an anecdotal account as an example of the way in which a story might be used as a means of teaching a point relating to the doctor-patient relationship. Used in this way, narrative may help student doctors to come to terms with what Hensel and Rasco refer to as the "crises of professionalization": becoming members of a "special group" in society with its own "... ethos, obligations and internal values." (Hensel and Rasco, 1992 p.502 and 503). As with Dingwall's study of health visitors, it appears that what is being suggested here is that stories can serve as a useful means of facilitating transition into a profession.

The primary focus of the work reviewed in this chapter up until now has been on the use of narrative as means of helping students to make sense of their experience. From this point of view, narrative thinking might be regarded as a reactive tool. However, a learner might also

exploit narrative in a more proactive way when it is used as a means of guiding action.

Orr's (1990) analysis of the storytelling practices of American photocopier repair technicians provides a useful example of this kind of function. He explains the use of narrative by the technicians in terms of it having a practical value as a means of problem solving and in terms of it serving to demonstrate the competence of the individual in a given set of circumstances.

In the first instance, photocopier technicians tell stories to help them solve difficult technical problems. Orr provides an example of this in which two technicians relate a number of stories to each other in a bid to generate inspiration for a solution to the repair problem at hand. Each of these stories relates to an experience of a machine with symptoms *similar to those of the machine under repair*. Used in this way, the stories help the technicians to make sense of a situation. This provides a particularly poignant example of the use of language in problem solving that is entirely consistent with Vygotsky's (1986) analysis of the use of language as a tool for thought. It also provides another example of the use of stories as a basis for analogous reasoning, a matter considered more fully below in respect of the claims made by Shearing and Ericson (1991).

This is not the only way in which stories have a practical value for the community of technicians. Their working practices were such that they were obliged to work on machines outside their territorial area of responsibility from time to time and their machines would occasionally be serviced by technicians from other territories. The exchange of information about their machines in the form of stories allowed each technician to work as efficiently as possible, had the benefit of reducing the amount of time spent on servicing the machines and limited the scope for conflict between the technicians and their customers.

Stories also had the value of demonstrating to the rest of the community of photocopier technicians that the teller was a technician. Orr notes that "It is in the telling of stories of their encounters with machines and customers that they have the opportunity to show their work as the interesting and even heroic enterprise that it is" (Orr, 1990 p. 187). Such a use of stories as a means of demonstrating membership of a group is clearly consistent with similar points made by Dingwall (1977), above.

From Orr's perspective, stories told in this way by photocopier technicians form a part of the community memory of the group. In so doing stories help to define the group as a group, the parallels with Dingwall's conclusions are again clear.

Narrative in Police Training

Perhaps, the most relevant previous study to the research reported in this thesis is by Fielding (1988). This sociological study into police training in Derbyshire suggests that narrative serves two main functions in police recruit and probationer training:

- (i) As a means of facilitating student involvement in pursuit of an ideology favourably disposed towards student involvement.
- (ii) As a means of introducing work-place practice into the classroom context.

The first of these functions relates to an ideology concerning the involvement of the students in the classroom process. Here, Fielding notes that the trainers "...emphasised the worth of 'interactive teaching' securing class involvement" (Fielding, 1988 p.72).

One way of securing class involvement is by use of "examples". While Fielding does not provide an explicit definition of "examples" he does seem to use the term in two senses.

First, "practical examples" are instances in which the trainer seeks to make a point of police procedure by constructing a situation in which one of the students is seen to make an error of judgement. One of the

examples that Fielding presents of this is a situation in which a student is given a sealed envelope with “£5” written on the outside and told that he should report it as property found by a member of the public in the street. The student then records the property in a manner previously taught to him but does not check the contents of the envelope. This having been done, the trainer then opens the envelope to reveal that it only actually contains £2. The point of the exercise here being that police officers should thoroughly check and accurately record any property coming into *their possession in these circumstances*.

The second sense in which Fielding uses the term “examples” is less clearly described. However, this seems to relate to the use of anecdotes and the provision of advice in the form of narrative. An ideology promoting the use of anecdotes is suggested in a comment made by one of the trainers during an interview with the researcher when he says “If somebody hinges the point he’s making on a little anecdote you are far more likely to learn it” (Fielding, 1988 p. 70).

Some further evidence of the telling of anecdotes in the classroom can be found in the data presented in respect of interviews with students, for example “.... At training school they’re officers who have had a lot of experience and they often convey less than all of it by relating their experiences to you in that subject. Quite often it’s like mnemonics, something will trigger. You’ll be out and think, ‘I remember him saying something like this’. You may not remember it verbatim but from relating

to it as his experience.” (Fielding, 1988 p.68). Interestingly, these comments would also seem to support Mercer’s (1995) suggestion about the memorability of stories. This account might also be an example of a situation in which the stories told in training influence action in the work place through a process of analogous reasoning. This idea is further considered below in respect of the claims made by Shearing and Ericson (1991) about the use of narrative as a cultural resource for action.

In addition to the use of anecdotes as examples, Fielding provides an instance of advice when he describes a piece of interaction between a tutor constable and a probationer who was experiencing some uncertainty about what to do in a case of domestic assault, “... Look, even if she isn’t complaining of assault it’s up to you, looking after number one, to record it. If she wants to withdraw it later because it’s her boyfriend, fair enough, but for Christ’s sake let it be seen that you know what you’re doing.” (Fielding, 1988 p. 98).

A second function performed by narrative in this kind of training is that it is perceived as promoting the involvement of practice in the classroom. Fielding’s work suggests that this stems from influences in the broader cultural setting in which the training takes place when he points out that “Police culture does not highly value ‘book learning’ or academic ability as a skill for police officers.” (Fielding, 1988 p.58).

From such a cultural perspective, training in general is often not highly valued. Trainers may be seen as being “theoretical” to officers working in the field and the students may see classroom-training experiences as “...getting in the way of the natural laboratory of the streets, where practice is really learnt.” (Fielding, 1988 p.65). The trainers themselves tend to “... endorse ‘practical knowledge’ and are dubious of ‘theory’” (Fielding, 1988 p.90), for example, the chief instructor at the training establishment is reported as saying “... police work is all about real people and real things and you can get to Cloud Cuckoo Land if you stick to the theory.” (Fielding, 1988 p.90).

It is against this background that narrative in the form of “‘real’ examples and anecdotes” (Fielding, 1988 p.90) is brought into the classroom by trainers to rectify what they consider to be missed in the centrally prescribed syllabus. In these circumstances, the trainers see “.... practice applications as a leaven for the generally dry legal input.” (Fielding, 1988 p.72) and this is manifested in the use of examples. In these circumstances, Fielding suggests that “By these anecdotes instructors seek to demonstrate their practical wisdom to recruits, and bring home the value of training.” (Fielding, 1988 p.90).

From a wider perspective, Fielding sees the use of anecdotes and examples as “an appeal to practice” that forms “... an element in the rhetoric that smoothes the structure of the organisation” (Fielding, 1988 p.90). Used in this way, narrative serves as one means of binding the

participants to the classroom process together. This is about using the rhetoric of the field in a training environment as a way of "...asserting the solidarity of the police" because "...expressing the primacy of practical skills claims that in the end trainers, recruits and operational officers are all police together" (Fielding, 1988 p.90). In this sense, narrative serves to define the police as a group, a function also noted in respect of health visitors by Dingwall, above.

Fielding notes that there are some limitations in the use of narrative in police classrooms. The most obvious of these lies in the use of role-play exercises. The students saw role-plays as being rather limited as simulations of field work experience. For example, one of the students is reported as saying "It does simulate in a way but when there's the classroom standing round looking at you, you can't really say what you feel" (Fielding, 1988 p.62). Here, it might well be concluded that the role-plays used in police training often fail to achieve verisimilitude, the yardstick by which narrative is judged from Bruner's (1986) perspective.

On the other hand, this point of view may stem from the manner in which role-play exercises were conducted at the police training school rather than from the use of role-plays in general. Evidence to support this is reported in the form of a comment made by a student "The sergeants tended to exaggerate things. Looking back, some of them were really stupid. People climbing out of the windows of the car and all you've done is ask them for their insurance certificate. They just say it is the worst

situation that they've ever experienced, that they're trying to show us how we'd deal with their worst" (Fielding, 1988 p.62). This would seem to suggest that the student is under the impression that the role-play she or he refers to is an example of something that actually occurred in the field experience of the trainer and yet the apparently extreme nature of the exercise leads her or him to challenge its relevance to field work in general. An extract from an interview conducted with a probationary constable a year after leaving the training establishment lends further support to the suspicion that the limitations of role-play exercises may be more applicable to life in the training school. Here, the student contrasts her or his experience of role-plays (referred to here as "practicals") in the training school with those he or she subsequently encountered at a local training centre "... then you go onto the beat for a year and learn from practical demonstrations, which are nothing like your practicals at training school" (Fielding, 1988 p.64).

Comments from the trainers from the training school also express a negative point of view about the value of role-play exercises. For example, "...You cannot effectively play roles because they know it's acting and they act back" (Fielding, 1988 p.74).

That having been said, role-plays were not seen by all the trainers in a completely negative light. Some of the trainers saw them as a kind of "half-way house" between the classroom and field work and, therefore, as an "... excursion, a time 'away' from training" (Fielding, 1988 p.74).

Whatever the case, anecdotes and examples tend to be preferred by trainers to the role-play as a means of securing class involvement, for example, "Not the role-play but, yes, class involvement is essential for learning, and putting theory into practice by giving examples" (Fielding, 1988 p.72).

The notion that anecdotes and examples are used as a means of securing student involvement is, however, limited in Fielding's study. This becomes manifest in the difference between ideology and practice. Here, Fielding notes that, despite the ideology espoused by trainers, "... the recruit sessions were observably stiff and formal compared to those for experienced people who might have more service than instructors" (Fielding, 1988 p.72). He then goes on to point out that his interviews with the recruits suggested that they had not grasped the distinction between student involvement in the classroom process and rote learning.

One reason for such a disparity between ideology and practice was expressed by one of the instructors (an Inspector) at the training school when she or he suggests that "there is a technique to teaching your peer group of status, whereby I'm an Inspector and I'm putting over certain things to fellow inspectors. Unlike a recruit constables' class, where you teach them and they learn from you. In the senior officer training, you may well find some of your students have vaster professional knowledge than you. ...So you have got to draw the knowledge from them for the

benefit of all as well as guide them” (Fielding, 1988 p.86). The suggestion here seems to be that, by virtue of their inexperience, recruits are less able to make a valid contribution to the classroom process than longer serving officers are. This view has some support in another reported comment from a trainer when she or he also contrasts the teaching methods adopted in a class of senior officers with those adopted in recruit classrooms “Unlike the recruit side where it's point blank lecturing. You tell them and they learn” (Do you ever try the seminar with recruits?) (Pause.) “I don't think you can. For the learning situation of the very basic level it has got to be 'I am the teacher, you are the student. I am going to give you the benefit of my vast knowledge'” (Fielding, 1988 p.74 and 75).

It seems that although the trainers sympathised with an ideology promoting student involvement in their lessons and although it appears that the use of narrative was considered to be an important means of securing this end, the actual practice in the classroom was somewhat different due to a perceived deficit in the relevant experience of the recruits. Used in this way, narrative may have given the impression of being rather more of a one-way process than seems to have been envisaged by the trainers in promoting such an ideology of “interactive” teaching in the classroom.

Also of relevance to this thesis, are Shearing and Ericson's (1991) views on the use of narrative as a cultural resource from which action arises.

Writing from a sociological perspective in Canada, Shearing and Ericson use the context of policing to illustrate the problems associated with using rules to predict or generate action. They point out that sociologists have examined the fit between legal rules and police decisions and have often reported that police officers deviate from them. They go on to suggest that explanations for this apparent deviation from the general principle of rule based behaviour has usually been in couched terms of police officers following another set of implicit rules. Shearing and Ericson's analysis suggests that such explanations have also proved inadequate in the past.

Having argued against the idea of behaviour as being rule based activity, Shearing and Ericson set out to develop an analysis of how it is that culture makes available a process that allows action to be both orderly and improvisational.

Shearing and Ericson begin by noting that, when they are asked, police officers "emphatically, and categorically" state that competent police work is not done by following a 'book of rules' (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.487). Furthermore, police officers cite experience when asked how police work is done and, when pressed on this point, they tell stories that 'lovingly describe ways of being, seeing and, most importantly, acting as police officers'(Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.488).

Shearing and Ericson point out that the duration and scope of police stories varies widely. In terms of duration, some stories take the form of lengthy anecdotes while others amount to brief aphorisms that 'capture the essence of longer stories by concentrating their meaning into a single figurative phrase' (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.489). These brief aphorisms may have something in common with some of the stories reported by Cooper et al (1983) as noted above. In terms of scope, the subject matter of police stories varies considerably because the police have 'all of society, all aspects of organised life, as their potential sphere of operation' (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.489).

As a result of their analysis, Shearing and Ericson identify three ways in which stories guide police action:

- (i) They use tropes.
- (ii) They identify precedents.
- (iii) They use silences.

Tropes and precedents form the basis of analogous thinking in the sense that they identify a range of potential actions that might be taken in any particular context. Such a range of potential actions is considered useful in police work, an occupation in which it is important develop a general ability to make sense of experience in order to cope with the wide variety

of events officers are likely to encounter. In this sense, Shearing and Ericson claim that 'police stories function as a search-light rather than a spot-light, ensuring that they experience reality as a fluid not a solid' (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.489).

Shearing and Ericson suggest that what is not said in a story contributes just as much to the meaning as what is said. These 'silences' encourage listeners to create for themselves a view of the world implied by the story. This is usually achieved with reference to the other stories the listener has experienced. In this sense, 'each story refers implicitly to a larger whole that is expressed through the story but is never fully revealed by it in the same way that each two dimensional view of a three dimensional object refers outside itself to other possible views' (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.498). In so doing, the stories told by police officers create a kind of cultural sensibility, a world view, that gives unity to the diversity of potential actions that might be taken in any given circumstance.

Shearing and Ericson sum up their paper by concluding that "...culture is better thought of as a 'poetic system' that enables action through trope and precedent based logic. This logic transfers knowledge from one realm to another via a process of analogous reasoning that invites activity by encouraging the construction of a particular subjectivity" (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.500).

Summary

This chapter has suggested that narrative has been used in teaching for thousands of years and that it is used cross culturally in education today. Within modern western culture, the use of narrative as a teaching device begins long before children go to school, continues in compulsory and post-compulsory education and is then used in vocational settings.

The use of stories would seem to serve a number of functions across all three domains of analysis in these contexts. From an interpersonal point of view stories may be used to provide concrete illustrations of abstract concepts, skills and attitudes. This may then serve an intrapersonal function associated with memorability by formulating the material in such a way as to be easier for the students to reconstruct it later. In the socio-cultural domain, stories can be used as a means of achieving the pedagogical aim of student involvement and the vocational aim of introducing work-place practice into the classroom. In a broader sense within this domain, stories might also be used to define and defend a group and to provide a measure of professional competence in the interpersonal domain.

Overall, the use of stories as a means of reflecting on experience past and as a resource for future action has been noted in the literature reviewed in this chapter.

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two broad sections. First, it discusses the theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used in this research; secondly it outlines the methodological processes of this research.

The general direction the research followed was an inductive one using qualitative data. The principal theoretical framework underpinning the method used was one of discourse analysis of the kind most closely associated with discursive psychology (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987 and Edwards and Potter, 1992).

Data in the form of classroom talk and interviews with trainers was recorded for the purposes of this research primarily by the use of an audio tape recorder. Some sessions of classroom talk were also video recorded. These recordings were then transcribed and analysed. Some

documentary data in the form of lesson plans and student notes was also examined.

This study took place in two broad phases. The first of these was a longitudinal study during which samples of the classroom talk of a single class consisting of twenty students was recorded as they progressed through their six attendances at the local training centre over a fourteen month period. During this phase, six sessions each lasting half a day were observed. The second phase consisted of the recording a cross section of particular sessions relating to the use of role-plays and case studies in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the longitudinal research. During this phase, two role-plays and two case studies were observed. Throughout this time, seven interviews with trainers were conducted using a schedule that became increasingly structured as the focus of the research developed. Documentary data consisting of guidance on training style and lesson delivery was also examined on an increasingly structured basis as the research progressed.

Direction and Theoretical Framework

The research question originally posed in this research was simply one relating to the exploration of the “context” of Metropolitan Police Probationer Training. For these purposes, context was and still is

regarded as an intermental process (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). Such a process is conceived as one in which shared knowledge is best treated as a matter of “pragmatic intersubjectivity” (Edwards, 1997). Considering shared knowledge in this way means viewing it as the participants’ “practical concern; what their talk treats as shared, and when, and how” (Edwards, 1997 p.114). From this point of view, what the participants orient their talk to and how and when they do it is a key issue for the analysis of context (as suggested on pages 75 and 76 of this thesis).

Preliminary analysis of the initial transcript data that was obtained during the first stage of this study narrowed the focus of the research on to the telling of stories in this setting. Qualitative hypotheses concerning the telling of these stories were gradually generated and refined as data was obtained and analysed.

In this sense, the direction followed in this research may be regarded as an inductive one. Inductive logic proceeds from the particular to the general and may be contrasted with deductive research that proceeds from the general to the particular. In broad terms, inductive methods tend to relate to the generation and development of hypothesis from the qualitative analysis of data. On the other hand, in a general sense, deductive methods refer to the testing of hypotheses in particular contexts from a quantitative analysis of data.

The main theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used in this research was discourse analysis. Different authors working from different perspectives have different views on what counts as “discourse” in general and on what constitutes “discourse analysis” in particular (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). The kind of analysis used in this study is most closely associated with the theoretical framework advocated by Potter and Wetherell, 1987. This form of analysis is conducted from the perspective of social psychology rather than linguistics, it aims to facilitate a better understanding of social life and social interaction rather than increasing a social awareness of linguistics by studying pragmatics. In particular, because it focuses on social interaction in an educational setting, the study reported in this thesis has been influenced by the use of discourse analysis in the classrooms studied by Edwards and Mercer (1987).

This form of “discourse analysis” adopts a fairly broad working definition of “discourse” in that it includes “... all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.7). The analysis of these kinds of discourse focuses primarily on content rather than form. That is to say that they “... are interested in what people say to each other, what they talk about, what words they use, what understandings they convey, and with the problematics of how these understandings are established and built upon as the discourse proceeds” (Edwards and Mercer, 1987 p10). Such a focus is on the “... subject matter [of discourse] and with its social rather than linguistic

organization” (Edwards and Potter, 1992 p.28). The emphasis here is very much on the constructive nature and action orientation of the discourse in question as well as the inevitable variability stemming from such an orientation (Edwards and Potter, 1992). Such a view of discourse analysis may be considered a functional one: it is about what people do with talk and text in context.

The driving force behind such a method may be found in social constructionist thought. Social constructionism is a form of sociological social psychology (Still, 1996) and is an umbrella term used to refer to several perspectives (for example, critical social psychology and discursive social psychology) having in common a particular view of the relationship between social and cognitive processes. Such a view owes much to the work of Lev Semenovich Vygotsky (for example, Vygotsky 1978 and 1986). Vygotsky considered the relationship of thought to language to be a dialectic one in which thought is born through words while words devoid of thought are “dead things” (Vygotsky, 1986 p.255). In this sense, cognition is a social process and social processes are cognitive ones.

From this point of view, the study of discourse in social contexts in which learning is a primary feature is an entirely legitimate one. Such an approach by no means oversimplifies the relationship between thought and language, for it is not a straightforward one. Social constructionists view this relationship as being an active one in at least two respects.

First, the processes involved in internalising the social environment are active in the sense that the learner reconstructs them (such a process has been referred to as “appropriation” by Leontyev, 1981). Such reconstruction takes place on the basis of what the learner already knows as a result of their past experience with the social environment. Second, discourse itself is oriented towards action. Such an orientation goes beyond the limitations of speech-act theory (Austin, 1962) and embraces the kind of features suggested by Edwards and Potter, 1992, in their Discursive Action Model.

Discourse analysis of this kind was considered to be the most appropriate method for this study for two main reasons. First, the focus of this study is on what trainers do with stories and why they do it. It is appropriate to use discourse analysis, with its emphasis on discourse as action and social context, in pursuit of such a focus because of its concern with the content and function of talk and other forms of text. Second, discourse analysis provides a means of analysing a variety of material, including transcripts of classroom talk, transcripts of trainer interviews, written lesson plans for trainers and support material for students. In this sense, its application is much broader than other forms of qualitative analysis (for instance, conversation analysis). This chapter will now move on to outline the processes actually involved in conducting this research.

Methodological Processes

This section considers the methodological processes actually involved in this research. It begins with a brief reminder about the nature of the research setting. It then considers the potential impact of the researcher on the setting and on the analysis of the data arising from it. The first and second phases of the research are then outlined, the compilation of transcripts are discussed and a summary is given of the general processes involved in the analysis of this and the documentary data obtained during the study. Finally, some points are made about the validation of the findings reported in this thesis.

Research Setting

As has previously been noted, the setting for this study was a Metropolitan Police Probationer Classroom in a local training unit in South London. In the Metropolitan Police, the term "probationer" refers to an officer who has completed his or her basic training during a fifteen-week course at the Metropolitan Police Training Establishment in Hendon but is yet to have completed 2 years service. Officers are obliged to attend a local training unit for six sessions, each lasting a week in duration, during their probation. Each attendance takes place every 4-6 weeks. The first attendance takes place shortly after they have completed their basic training at Hendon and have been posted to a

police station. The six attendances at the local training unit run over a fourteen-month period and take an officer up to roughly eighteen months service.

The Researcher: Methodological Considerations

The author of this research is a serving police officer. At the time during which the data was collected and analysed, I served in an operational policing environment. I have previously been involved as a trainer in probationer training. This had advantages and disadvantages.

One of the advantages was that access was relatively easy to negotiate and consent easy to obtain. Such consent was informed in the sense that all the participants to the study were told that the focus of this research was on the talk and various aspects of classroom context related to the talk (for example, student support material, trainers' lesson notes and over head projector slides). The participants were not initially informed of an interest in storytelling because this interest only developed out of subsequent analysis. An interest in storytelling was subsequently revealed to the trainers during the interviews conducted with them. The students in the second phase of this research were informed of an interest in either case studies or role-plays as applicable to the lesson observed.

A further significant advantage of my background was that my insider perspective might have helped me to interpret the context more readily from the perspective of the participants as it emerged in the data obtained during this study. That I found little difficulty in establishing a rapport with the participants to this research as a result of my experience may well have helped in this process.

Paradoxically, my background may also be regarded as a disadvantage in this study. This may have been the case for two broad reasons, one relating to reactivity and the other to bias.

First, I am a Detective Sergeant. This places me of equal rank with the trainers but of higher rank to the students. While every effort was made to obtain informed consent from all the participants, it would be foolish to ignore the possibility that the power differential of rank might have entered into the equation somewhere during the process. In addition to the possibility that consent might have been influenced, it is also possible that the reactivity resulting from my very presence at the back of the classroom might have been exacerbated by the power differentials of rank. Having acknowledged this possibility, it should be noted that I experienced nothing which would seem to indicate that was case. On the contrary, the light-hearted way in which the students behaved after I had entered the classroom and before the trainer did so, suggested that my presence had little if any impact on the way they usually interacted with each other. However, such was not the case with the trainers when I

interviewed them. Being aware of my background sometimes resulted in their making assumptions about my understanding of what they were saying. For example:

1. Trainer ... it is experiential but not in the pure sense that I
2. understand I mean you're obviously a lot wider read
3. than I am...

Sequence 3.1

Extract from interview with trainer (I.O.) 18.11.94

In order to compensate for this, I found it necessary to reassure trainers that I wanted to hear all they could tell me. While this seemed to be an effective means of addressing assumptions about my level of understanding, it would be foolish to fail to acknowledge the possibility that some assumptions remained unchallenged as a result of my inability to play the role of the totally detached observer.

Further to this, my insider perspective may well have exerted an influence on what was focused on during the interviews with trainers and during the analysis of the classroom transcripts and documentary data obtained during this research. In essence, the argument here is that my background might have limited the extent to which I could distance myself from the social activities under study. While every effort was made to combat this by keeping as open a mind as possible, it would be

wrong to fail to acknowledge the possibility that undue emphasis might have been placed on what seemed strange at the expense of what appeared familiar to me. It would, therefore, seem to be a matter of good practice to include some of my raw data in the appendix for scrutiny and to invite the scrutiny of the rest of the data obtained during this research on request (not all the data obtained in this study could be included in the appendix as a result of the volume of it).

The Research: First Phase

The first phase of this research took place over a fourteen-month period. This consisted of a longitudinal study during which a single class of students was observed as they progressed through all six attendances at the local training unit. The class was observed for approximately half a day during each five-day long attendance. Sampling of this half-day period was conducted as far as possible on a random basis, although the availability of the researcher and some issues in respect of the time-table were taken into account (notably, the presence of the students in the classroom, they were obliged to attend physical training in a gymnasium some distance from the training unit on at least one occasion per attendance).

Each session observed was recorded by means of audiotape. Field notes were also taken of the physical context of the setting, including the

seating layout and any visual representations used (for example, overhead projector slides and graphics on the white board).

Following the transcription and preliminary analysis of the classroom recordings (considered more fully below), interviews were conducted with the trainers. These interviews were also recorded on audiotape and transcribed. Initially, in an attempt to understand the broad context of this setting, they focused on the general training philosophy favoured by the trainers and on some aspects of the transcribed classroom talk appearing to merit further investigation (including some storytelling episodes). Later, they focused more exclusively on the use of stories considered in this thesis.

The interviews conducted during this research might reasonably be described as “accounts” because the trainers were asked to provide an explanation of their views and behaviour. The interest here was in how the trainers accounted for their actions in the classroom rather than in either developing a typology of accounts (as in, for example, the work conducted by Semin and Manstead, 1983, from the perspective of social psychology) or in analysing them as structural features of conversation (as in the case, for example, of the work by conversation analysts such as Atkinson and Drew, 1979).

The interviews and the classroom observations conducted for the purposes of this research were regarded as social events in their own

right because the interactional norms that the participants orientated themselves to were different in each case. During the interviews, trainers were accounting for rather than simply giving an account of the stories that they used in the classroom. They did this by orienting themselves towards:

- (i) what they considered to be “normal, expectable and proper” (Edwards, 1997 p.7) in this setting; and
- (ii) the interactional norms for the interview itself.

For this reason, it was not assumed that what the trainers said they did in the classroom during the interviews was the same as what they did in the classroom.

The analysis of these interviews focused on how, within the norms for this kind of interaction, trainers construct:

- (i) the business of training in general (including what they considered training ought to be within the pedagogical values and the broader cultural context of the police);
- (ii) their use of stories in particular; and
- (iii) the evaluative issues that concern them in this setting.

Documentary data was also examined during this phase of the research. As with the interview transcripts, the initial focus of this analysis was on the general training philosophy reflected in the data. Later, this analysis focused more extensively on the use of the kind of stories considered in this thesis.

This phase of the research had resulted in the recording of only 3 case studies and role-plays. A second phase was then planned in a bid to supplement this material.

The Research: Second Phase

The second phase of the research reported in this thesis consisted of the recording a cross section of two role-plays and two case study sessions in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the first phase of this research.

The role-play sessions that were observed can, as is suggested in Chapter 7 of this thesis, be considered to consist of an introduction, an activity and a de-briefing stage. The introduction and de-briefing stages were recorded by means of an audio tape recorder as with the classroom sessions observed in the first phase of this research. The activity stage was recorded on videotape for two reasons. First, for the benefit of the

students observing the activity, the session was already subject to a live television monitoring system. This monitoring system included the use of a video tape recorder. Placing a videotape into the recorder seemed to be the easiest means of recording this stage of the session. Second, the activity lent itself to video tape recording in that it involved a good deal of non-verbal behaviour that would have been missed if an audiotape was used to record it. An audio tape recorder was used to record each phase of the case study sessions, although equipment failure meant that only one activity phase was sufficiently audible for transcription purposes (another such session had also been successfully recorded during the first phase of this research). As with the first phase of this research, field notes were also taken of the physical context of the setting. This included a plan of the physical layout of the role-play activities (for example, the scene of a "burglary") as well as the classroom seating layout and any visual representations used (for example, overhead projector slides and graphics on the white board).

Interviews continued to be conducted with trainers during this phase of the research. These interviews were semi-structured in the sense that they focused on the use of stories considered in this thesis. Each interview was recorded by means of an audiotape.

Documentary data also continued to be examined during this phase of the research. As with the interview transcripts, the focus of this analysis was on the use of the kind of stories considered in this thesis.

The Use of Audio/Video Recording

As has been noted, the main focal point of this research was on the use of stories. Such stories manifest themselves in the talk of the participants in the classrooms of this setting. The limitations of memory are such that it was considered unlikely that written field notes by themselves would provide a reliable record of this talk. While using videotape to record all the talk in the classroom was certainly an attractive prospect, technical limitations were such that a wide angled lens was not available. The absence of this equipment would have meant that it would have been necessary to move the camera around the room during the lesson observed in order to obtain any significant advantage over the use of an audio tape recorder. While the use of a camera in this way during role-plays presented no problem because it was the usual practice, it was considered that moving a camera around more generally in the classroom was likely to increase procedural reactivity by distracting the participants. For these reasons, the use of an audio tape recorder was considered to be the most effective means by which the classroom and interview data should be recorded for the purposes of this research.

However, to say that the use of audiotape was the most appropriate means of recording this data is not to say that it presented no problems. The equipment available to me did have some technical limitations. That I did not have the resources for equipment able to use more than two microphones meant that I had to make a tactical judgement as to where

they were to be placed in the classroom. Such a judgement invariably led me to place one microphone at a location in the vicinity of where the trainer was likely to be and another at the back of the class to pick up on the talk of the students. This had the draw back of providing only a limited recording of the talk of students sitting on the sides of the classroom. This limitation was to a certain extent addressed by the use of a second tape recorder in the classroom, although this tactic added to the burden of transcription. A second limitation with the use of audiotapes in this research was that it was easier to record one participant talking than several talking at the same time. When more than one participant spoke at the same time, the recording was difficult to understand and often unintelligible all together.

With these limitations in mind, it would now seem appropriate to consider the compilation of transcripts as preparation for the analysis reported in this research.

Transcription

The necessity for transcription in discourse analysis has been succinctly put by Potter and Wetherell when they suggest that “a good transcript is essential for a form of analysis which involves repeated reading of sections of data, and the process of transcribing can be helpful in forcing the transcriber to closely read a body of discourse” (Potter and Wetherell

1987 p.165). All the audio and videotapes of classroom talk were, therefore, transcribed in order to aid the retrieval and analysis of the data. In this sense, transcription was regarded as "an important analytic tool, providing the researcher with an understanding of, and insights into, the participants' conduct" (Heath and Luff, 1993 p. 309). Certainly seeing the talk in a written form supported memory during the analysis of this material in a way unlikely to have been done by simple reference to the raw data in the form of the video/audio recordings.

These transcripts were verbatim because the broad analytic applications allowed for by verbatim transcripts seemed to be more consistent with the inductive direction taken by this research. This decision was influenced by work of researchers like Fielding who points out that "You may not know what will be the most significant points of analysis when you are doing the transcription: doing it verbatim means you have not lost any data which may later become significant" (Fielding, 1993 p.146).

Having decided to transcribe the tapes verbatim, some decisions had to be made about the level of detail to be shown in them. On the one hand, it has been suggested that transcripts should be compiled in as much detail as possible. For instance, Heath and Luff (1993), support their arguments in favour of the level of detail usually found in transcripts compiled for the purposes of conversation analysis by discussing a transcript in which the precise length of pauses, details of intonation, inhalations and exhalations are manifest. Alternatively, it has been

suggested that more selective transcripts are useful because when they contain a lot of detail they are difficult to follow and assess (Ochs, 1979). In these circumstances, it is considered that the research question should have an impact the level of detail put into a transcript (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). While, Heath and Luff (1993) make a valid point in suggesting that the less detailed a transcript is the less chance the reader has of getting close to the event, the views expressed by Ochs (1979) and Potter and Wetherell (1987) were considered to be more relevant to this study. The analytic purpose for which these transcripts were required was to gain a better understanding of this classroom context from a study of the talk in this setting. This suggested that the most appropriate conventions were those used previously in content-focused research into classroom talk by Edwards and Mercer (1987):

- (.....) Words undeciphered

- . Omitted discourse which is irrelevant to the issue being discussed
- . in the thesis (no discourse other than that which was
- . indecipherable was omitted from the full transcript)

- Sequence starts or ends within a speaker's turn

- / Pause of less than 2 seconds

// Pause of more than 2 seconds

Bold Type Emphatic speech

[simultaneous or interrupted speech

(&) Continuing speech separated in the transcript by an inter
speaker

Source: Edwards and Mercer (1987 p. ix and x)

These conventions are sufficiently detailed to give some indication of intonation in the form of emphatic speech and some indication of the duration of a pause by locating it in one of two categories. The conventions also provide the reader with some information concerning interrupted speech. In the case of the transcripts of classroom talk, a column describing any physical activity concurrent with the talk (such as the use of visual aids) have also been included to try and enhance the reader's understanding of what was happening in the classroom.

What these transcripts do not include is the precise length of pauses or non-verbal behaviour such as inhalations and exhalations. It was considered that this degree of detail would have contributed little if anything of value to the analysis to be undertaken and would have

needed far more sophisticated recording equipment than was readily available.

When extracts from classroom transcripts are presented in this thesis they are attributed to the name of the class and to which of the six attendances at the local training unit was observed. For example, "Charlie 5" refers to the fifth of six attendances at the local training unit by "Charlie Class", alternatively, "Purple 3" refers to the third attendance of "Purple Class". This means of designating transcripts follows the way trainers in this setting identify their classes.

The influence of the transcriber

It would seem likely that in transcribing the tapes I influenced the compilation of the transcripts in some way during this research. As has been noted by Longman (1995) in respect of her research, this may have happened in three ways:

- (i) Another transcriber might have understood some of the words differently, identified different pauses or placed the interruptions at a slightly different location in the text.
- (ii) Selectivity on what I wanted to hear may have increased as the focus of this research sharpened.

- (iii) The way the talk is set out in the transcripts is likely to have some impact on the reader. A different lay out might influence the reader in different ways.

The argument suggested here is that the compilation of any transcript is influenced by the transcriber, in essence, a transcript, like any other form of research activity, is a construction located in social context. The extracts from transcripts presented in this thesis might be regarded as further constructions in the sense that they were selected to illustrate a point concerning a representative or unusual feature of story-telling activity in this setting.

The Coding and Analysis of Transcript and Documentary Data

In common with the transcripts compiled for the purposes of this research, documentary data, in the form of lesson notes for trainers and pre-reading material for the students, was examined using discourse analysis as previously described.

The process of research reported up until this point might be considered to follow the stages set out by Potter and Wetherell (1987). That is to say that a research question was formulated, a sample was selected, data in the form of recordings of classroom talk and written texts were obtained,

interviews were conducted and transcripts of classroom talk and the interviews were compiled. This process was, however, not an entirely a linear one, there was some overlap between the stages. In particular, as has been suggested, the research question was only narrowed down to the telling of stories after some observation and transcription had taken place. In addition, some recordings of classroom talk had already been transcribed prior to interviews being conducted with trainers and some further sampling had to take place in order to focus the second phase of this research on case studies and role-plays. As Potter and Wetherell suggest, these stages were used as a springboard from which the research took place rather than a rigid template to be followed.

The analysis of both documentary and transcript data then took place in accordance with stages six and seven of the process recommended by Potter and Wetherell: coding and analysis.

As the focus of this research was refined, instances of storytelling were identified and coded in the transcript and documentary data. The purpose of this enterprise was not to find “results” but rather to render the data the more manageable for analysis. In contrast with content analysis in which to code is to analyse, the process of coding in discourse analysis is a preliminary stage to the main analytic business. For this reason, the codes used are flexible; they are about “producing a body of instances, not trying to set limits to that body” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.167).

The initial code developed for use in this research was one of “story”, that is to say that the stories in the data were identified. Finding an appropriate working definition of this category was not an easy task. As has been noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, in research, definitions of “story” vary in terms of structure and content depending upon the uses to which the definition is put.

Since, the coding used for discourse analysis is, as has been suggested above, pragmatic rather than analytic (Potter and Wetherell, 1987), and since the focus of this research was primarily on the content of what was said, a very broad definition of “story” was used as a preliminary to the analysis stage in which it was taken to mean:

Any account of an event, whether it is implied that such an event actually occurred or whether it is entirely fictitious and whether the details of that event are either made explicit or are based on a more substantial appeal to common knowledge.

A code in respect of references to ideology was also used on the interview data in a bid to aid later analysis concerning the functions of storytelling. The term “ideology” is a complex one having a variety of meanings. It is more fully discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. As suggested by Potter and Wetherell, 1987, the application of these codes

to the data was a liberal one in order to include as many instances of “story-telling” and “ideology” as possible in the analysis to follow.

Having used this code in a bid to identify the various instances in which stories were used in this setting, different types of story were considered. The codes used for these purposes consisted of story themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts.

The participants in this setting explicitly refer to the concept of “role-play”. Examples of its use may be found in line 5 of the extract of classroom talk reported in sequence 7.5 on page 167 and in lines 13,14,16 and 17 of the extract from an interview with a trainer reported in sequence 7.8 on pages 170 to 172.

While the participants in this setting explicitly use the term “case study”, it is used less consistently than “role-play”. Examples of its use may be found in line 8 of the extract of classroom talk reported in sequence 8.1 on pages 190 to 192 and in line 9 of the extract from an interview with a trainer reported in sequence 8.9 on page 209. Some of the trainers, tend to use the term “scenario” instead of “case study” (for example, lines 1 and 10 of the extract from an interview with a trainer reported in sequence 8.14 on page 214). Since these terms seem to be used with roughly equal frequency in this setting, no basis arose within the data for deciding which the most appropriate was for this code. The decision to

use the term “case study” rather than “scenario” for this type of story was, therefore, necessarily an arbitrary one.

The term “theme” appears in the documentary material in the form of the lesson notes for the trainers that are designed centrally by the department with responsibility for designing such material (as noted on page 101). The trainers themselves also use the term “theme”, sometimes in conjunction with term “story” (as suggested in line 1 of sequence 6.1 on page 139). The code “story-themes” is taken to refer those themes running through each probationer attendance that amount to a “story” as defined on page 70 above. A more detailed account of these themes can be found in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

The terms “anecdote” and “hypothetical account” do not appear explicitly in the data obtained during this research; they emerged during the coding process. During this pre-analytic process, it was noted that some of the stories that are used in this setting amount to relatively short accounts that appear solely in the talk of the participants. This stands in some contrast to the role-plays, case studies and story themes because they also appear in the documentary material obtained during this research. These relatively short verbal accounts were presented as either constructions of events past or constructions of events that may come to pass in the future. The term “anecdote” seemed to best capture the notion of events past because its dictionary definition includes a reference to the reporting of events of an historical nature (Oxford

English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1989). The term “hypothetical account” seemed to best capture the idea of events that may come to pass in the future because the dictionary definition of “hypothetical” cross-references to that of hypothesis, a concept that embraces the notion of prediction in the social sciences (for example, Stratton and Hayes, 1993). As with the concept of “hypothesis”, the category “hypothetical account” is taken to refer to an event that *might* happen rather than one that *will* necessarily happen.

“Story theme”, role-play”, “case study”, “anecdote” and “hypothetical account” are all more fully described in Chapters 6 to 10 of this thesis.

The majority of the material previously coded under the broader category of “story” fitted in either one or the other of these categories. It may be worthy of note, however, that one instance of storytelling recorded during the first attendance during the first phase of this research, could have been designated as either a role-play or a case study. In this instance, operating in small groups, the students were asked to evaluate a number of documents they had been instrumental in compiling in the two days prior to the session being observed. The purpose of this activity was for the students to generate further lines of enquiry that might ultimately result in the resolution of the “crime” they were “investigating” as part of the story-theme running through the attendance. This activity then had the features of a role-play in that the students were “investigating” the “crime” and a case study in the sense that they were conducting a paper

exercise focusing on a specific task in small groups. While this instance is further discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis, it is raised here as an example of the flexible application of these codes to the data. Such a feature is more consistent with the use of coding as a pre-analytic stage rather than with the rigorous application of mutually exclusive codes when analysis itself is the goal.

Analysis then followed the coding of this data. Precise details of this process are as shown in Chapters 6 to 10 of this thesis. However, in general terms the analysis proceeded along the lines suggested by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Such analysis began with a search for patterns of variability and consistency between the types of story identified during the pre-analytic stage. The analysis then moved on to a consideration of the functions served by stories in this context. This second stage of analysis proceeded by the generation and development of hypotheses concerning these functions and the ground rules implicit in them.

Validation

Validation of this research has been attempted using the four main analytic techniques for this purpose referred to by Potter and Wetherell (1987): coherence, participants' orientation, new problems and fruitfulness.

Coherence refers to how well the analysis allows the reader to see “how the discourse fits together and how discursive structure produces effects and functions” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.170). The analysis reported in this thesis has endeavoured to provide a coherent account of the functions and perceived effects of story-telling and of how they fit in with the pedagogical and professional ideologies operating within this setting. This manifests itself most prolifically in how “relevance” both drives and constrains the practice of storytelling in this setting. “Relevance” is further discussed in the body of this thesis.

Considering the participants’ orientation refers to whether the participants orient to the categories and distinctions that arise from the analysis and whether they have implications for their practice. As Potter and Wetherell suggest, “it is not sufficient to say that as *analysts* we can see that these statements are consistent or dissonant; the important thing is the orientation of the participants, what *they* see as consistent and different” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.170 – emphasis in original). This thesis will demonstrate that the categories and the distinctions that arise from the analysis conducted during this research are used by and oriented to by the participants and that they have consequences for their practice. Examples of this may be found throughout this thesis, for instance:

- (i) the differing ways in which anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are used is summarised on pages 314 and 315; and
- (ii) the matter of how trainers orient towards verisimilitude in the classroom is considered in respect of sequence 8.1 on pages 190 to 192 and sequence 9.2 on pages 234 to 237.

The research reported in this thesis has raised a number of new problems associated with the telling of stories. For example, the initial analysis of data raised the problem of how the trainers arrived at different decisions about the application of rules concerning the verisimilitude of stories. This issue was tackled in subsequent analysis when it was found to relate to a number of factors including the nature of the story and the subject matter of the lesson. In this sense, some of the findings from the later analysis of data may be thought of as acting as a validity check on those of the initial analysis.

“Fruitfulness” refers to “the scope of an analytic scheme to make sense of new kinds of discourse and to generate novel explanations” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.171). It is hoped that the analysis reported in this thesis gives the reader the opportunity to make sense of the practice of story-telling in police probationer training and that it generates novel explanations for why and how it is used in this setting.

Application

After the writing of the report, the final stage in the process of discourse analysis considered by Potter and Wetherell (1987) is one of application. While it is acknowledged that this issue is difficult in social science research, the idea that researchers should think about the application of their findings seems to be a reasonable one.

The findings reported in this thesis are likely to be of some practical use to trainers working in police probationer training. While these findings will be more fully reported in the chapters that follow, the particular applications in mind here are ones of story selection and construction.

Summary

This chapter has considered the methodological processes of this research and the theoretical framework underpinning them.

The general direction the research followed was an inductive one using qualitative data. The principal theoretical framework underpinning the method used was one of discourse analysis of the kind most closely associated with discursive psychology (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987 and Edwards and Potter, 1992).

The research took place in two phases. The first phase consisted of a longitudinal study lasting some fourteen months during which a single cohort of students was observed as they progressed through their probation. The second phase consisted of the recording a cross section of role-plays and case study sessions in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the first phase of this research.

The recording of the data and its analysis consisted of the audio and, in some instances, video recording of classroom behaviour. The tapes arising from this were then transcribed. The transcripts and documentary material obtained during the course of this study were then coded and analysed.

Some consideration has been given to my status as a police officer conducting research involving police officers. It has been suggested that this insider view had both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages relate to interpretation from the participants' point of view, the establishment of rapport and the negotiation of access. The disadvantages relate to reactivity and bias.

Validation of this research has been attempted using the four main analytic techniques for this purpose referred to by Potter and Wetherell (1987): coherence, participants' orientation, new problems and fruitfulness.

Finally, some consideration has been given to the practical applications of the findings reported in this thesis. Here, it is hoped that these findings will be of some use to trainers working in police probationer training in terms of story selection and construction.

An Ideology of Student Involvement and Experiential Learning

Introduction

This chapter considers the relationship between storytelling and the training ideology in the setting studied for the purposes of this research. It sets out to do this by examining the ideology impacting on police training in four distinct areas. The first of these operates in the governmental area of the Home Office. The three remaining areas operate within the police-training establishment and consist of the central department responsible for the training of trainers, the central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers and the local trainers themselves.

It will be argued that the pedagogical concepts of learner, trainee or student centred and experiential learning are central to the ideology of training operating in the Metropolitan Police. Three of the four areas considered in this chapter explicitly use these concepts, none explicitly define them. The concepts tend rather to be associated with or distanced from particular types of knowledge or the use of particular techniques or methods. Since each area is concerned with a different aspect of police training, the uses to which these concepts are put varies between them. Before moving on to examine this matter further, it may be prudent to consider what is meant when the term “ideology” is used.

Ideology

The concept of “ideology”, is one of the most controversial in the social sciences today. This has given rise to a situation in which “different theorists have used the concept in very different ways, whilst disputing each other’s intellectual right to do so; moreover, the same theorists have often found themselves slipping into different meanings as they have talked about ‘ideology’” (Billig et al. 1988 p.25).

Despite such inconsistency, the idea that “ideology” relates to either legitimising or challenging an unequal distribution of power between social groups is common to most uses of the concept. Indeed, it has

been argued that the absence of power in any definition of ideology leaves the concept deficient in "critical potential" (McLellan, 1986 p.83). Karl Marx is one of the principal theorists that link the concept to "power". From Marx's point of view, ideology is used by the ruling class to legitimate the power they have over their sub-ordinates as exemplified in the famous phrase "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Marx and Engels, 1970, p. 64). These ideas are false and in that they serve to conceal the "true" nature of the power relationships in society and "ideology" is, therefore, regarded as serving to maintain a "false consciousness" among the working classes. For this reason, Marx did not see his own views as being "ideological" since they offered insights into the "true" nature of these power relationships (McLellan, 1986).

While still emphasising the issue of power, not all uses of "ideology" include the notion of "false consciousness" as an essential element of the concept. One example of this may be found in McLennan's (1991) analysis of the contrasting uses of Catholicism in medieval times and present day South America. Here, McLennan suggests that Catholicism was used to support a situation in medieval Europe in which the peasants occupied a position at the bottom of the social order by promoting the view that "everything on Earth was believed to have a fixed an unalterable place in a divinely ordained order" (McLennan, 1991 p.123). While this aspect of McLennan's analysis may be suggestive of a "false consciousness" serving to maintain the status quo, he goes on to

claim that Catholicism promotes the idea that there is “absolutely no theological justification for social and political inequality” (McLennan, 1991 p.123) in some South American countries today. In this case the priest is “united with the peasant against the landlord rather than being in league with them as in medieval times” (McLennan, 1991 p.123).

Billig et al. (1988) identify the distinction between intellectual ideologies and “lived” or everyday ideologies. Intellectual ideologies are systems of “political, religious or philosophical thinking” that are the products of “intellectuals or professional thinkers” (Billig et al. 1988 p27) like Marx. Alternatively, the concept of “lived” ideology “refers to ideology as society’s way of life” and “includes what passes for common sense within a society” (Billig et al. 1988 p27). Rather than being the coherently related systems that some view as an essential component of ideology (for example, McLennan, 1991), Billig et al. suggest that both intellectual and lived ideologies are dilemmatic because they consist of contrary themes. These dilemmas are “born out of a culture which produces more than one possible ideal world, more than one hierarchical arrangement of power, value and interest” (Billig et al. 1988 p163). They go on to point out that an analysis of rhetoric provides a useful way of studying ideology. McLellan seems to agree with this point when he suggests that ideology is “an aspect of every system of signs and symbols in so far as they are implicated in an asymmetrical distribution of power and resources” (McLellan, 1986 p.83).

Both intellectual and lived ideologies operate in the setting studied for the purpose of the research reported in this thesis. Within this chapter, intellectual ideologies may be considered to underpin the views attributed to the governmental area of the Home Office and the central department responsible for the training of trainers. Lived ideologies are those suggested in the discussion concerning the central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers and the local trainers themselves. In common with Billig et al. 1988, it is acknowledged that there is a relationship between the intellectual and lived ideologies operating in this setting. However, the focus of the analysis reported in this thesis very much concentrates on what takes place in the classroom. In this sense, it considers, in part, what happens when these intellectual ideologies are recreated in practice. A more considered analysis of the relationship between the intellectual and lived ideologies operating in this setting is beyond the scope of this research. Nothing reported here is by any means intended to suggest that this relationship is a simple one-way enterprise with influences flowing from the Home Office into police training.

Since this research took place in a training environment, the kind of ideology it considers is primarily an educational one. Billig et al (1988) suggest that educational ideologies have at least three interesting features:

- (i) they do not exist in isolation from the broader cultural context but rather appeal to a much wider set of social and political issues (for example, individual freedom versus authoritative constraint);
- (ii) they are defined in contrast to other points of view (for example, traditional “chalk and talk” education versus a progressive child-centred approach);
- (iii) their values are not mutually exclusive (for example, advocates of a child-centred approach do not tend to insist that a child discover everything and be taught nothing).

Evidence in support of each of these features can be found in this thesis. For example, the trainer’s comments reported in sequence 4.1 on page 107 define student-centred learning by contrasting it to traditional “chalk and talk” (lines 1 and 2). In addition, the trainer’s comments reported in sequence 4.2 on pages 108 and 109 suggest that trainers need to teach to the curriculum even within the framework of a student-centred approach (for instance, lines 6 to 9). In both these examples, wider issues such as those of individual freedom and authoritative constraint are played out in the hierarchical relationship between trainer and student in this setting (for instance, in the form of either “chalk and talk” or the demands of the curriculum versus a student-centred approach).

The Home Office: A Governmental View

Police probationer training was reviewed by central government in the mid 1980s (Home Office Review Team on Police Probationer Training, 1986). The review team advocated what they describe as a more “learner-centred” approach to replace the objectives-driven model they had encountered in many of the training centres that had been visited. The objectives-driven model referred to by the review tended to favour propositional knowledge (described as including criminal law, legal and police procedures and a formal knowledge of communities) and context free skills at the expense of tacit knowledge, context-bound skills and the development of attitudes. The review team did not set out what a “learner centred” approach would look like beyond associating it with these types of knowledge and pointing out that it would not be consistent the “chalk and talk tradition of the past” and the “militaristic style of discipline” that many of the trainers they had encountered operated in.

While the review acknowledged that the Metropolitan Police Service were more advanced in their conversion to such a learner-centred approach than many police forces by this time, its authors went on to urge them to consider adopting more fully the model of training provision that they had proposed.

Such a model of training provision embraces the extensive use of “experiential learning” methods. Experiential learning is not explicitly defined in the report, it is rather described with reference to a number of “experience-based” techniques that include “... a core of research-based case studies of policing situations in which legal, procedural and social dimensions are brought together in consideration of appropriate action.” (Home Office Review Team on Police Probationer Training, 1981, p.4). The driving force underpinning this recommendation was the view that training should have more relevance to the job actually done in the work place, discretion rather than simple right or wrong answers was seen as an important element here in what is referred to as “an essentially discretionary occupation”.

The Training of Trainers

Police officers in the Metropolitan Police Service become trainers by applying to do so in response to an internal advertisement inviting applications from interested parties.

Those involved in the training of probationary constables are, in the main, sergeants and more experienced constables, although inspectors occasionally provide some teaching as well. They are all trained for their role by a central training department on a course lasting six weeks. This initial course is followed six to nine months later by a two-week

development course and a further development course lasting one-week some time after that.

The first and second of these courses are greatly influenced by work conducted from the perspective of experiential social psychology. The most influential figure here is John Heron (for example, Heron, 1985 and 1989). Those responsible for the training of police trainers in the Metropolitan Police in the mid-1980s were so impressed with Heron's writings that they contracted him to facilitate the first few two week development courses referred to above. The courses that have taken place since have been modelled on the originals facilitated by Heron. Heron's models of training are intended to operate within an educational setting in which the role of the trainer is one of a "facilitator" of experiential learning, for example:

"Teaching is no longer seen as imparting and doing things to the student, but is re-defined as *facilitation of self-directed learning*."

Heron, 1989 p.12 (emphasis in the original)

"Experiential learning" in Heron's terms has both a specific and a general meaning. At the specific level, experiential learning is taken to refer to:

“... learning by encounter, by direct acquaintance, by entering into some state of being. It is manifest through the process of being there, face-to-face, with the person, at the event, in the experience.”

Heron, 1989 p.13

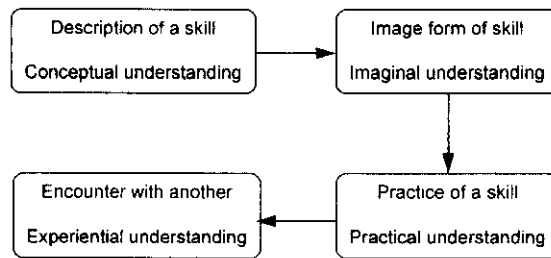
At a more general level, however, Heron uses the term “experiential learning” to collectively refer to four interdependent categories of learning. “Experiential learning” as described above forms one such category; the remaining categories are set out below:

Practical learning. Refers to learning a skill.

Conceptual learning. Refers to learning concepts expressed in the form of statements and propositions.

Imaginal learning. Refers to the learning of “configurations of form and process” involving “an intuitive grasp of a whole as shape or sequence”. Heron regards this as an “image level of learning”.

When combined, these categories form a model of learning called the “experiential learning cycle” by Heron. A simplified version of this model, only showing one circuit of the cycle, as applied to the training of a skill in the classroom is set out below:



Source: Heron, 1989 p.105

In the context of this cycle, the trainer may begin by describing the skill that is to be learnt. The students then “intuitively” convert this explanation into what Heron calls an “imaginal understanding” of the skill. Although Heron does not consider narrative as such, stories may facilitate “imaginal understanding” because, as will be suggested in the chapters that follow, they may serve to promote mental imagery in the minds of the audience. Heron (1989) does, however, explicitly mention role-play in terms of it being an experiential method that might be used to practice a skill involving an encounter with another. Having practiced the skill, the student then reflects upon the feedback they were given during their encounter with another person in the practice session. The student might then gain greater conceptual understanding as a result of this encounter and move around the cycle again.

Heron (1977) suggests that his training methods should be used in the context of a “trainee-centred” approach. He describes this as being one in which training depends more on self and peer evaluation than trainer assessment. He does this because the overall aim of Heron’s training is the improvement of the self by means of greater self-awareness. This in turn is a reflection of Heron’s values as an experiential social psychologist.

Heron proposes two methods of facilitative teaching to be used in the context of experiential learning: six-category intervention analysis and six dimensions of facilitator style. The former is primarily focused on one-to-one interactions between the facilitator and a student in or outside a group, the latter is aimed at interaction between the facilitator and the whole group.

Six category intervention analysis (Heron, 1985) was originally inspired by the work of Blake and Mouton (1972) which provided a matrix consisting of five descriptive categories relating to the interactions between applied behavioural scientists and people in organisations. Heron added a category to the original five and shifted the focus of the analysis from description to prescription. Heron’s six-category model has remained central to his thinking although he developed his views over the course of a number of years. Heron’s six categories are briefly outlined below:

Interventions

Prescriptive	gives advice/recommends behaviour to the client.
Informative	gives new knowledge/information or interprets behaviour to the client.
Confronting	challenges restrictive attitudes/beliefs/behaviour to the client.
Cathartic	releases tensions (elicits laughter, sobbing, trembling) in the client.
Catalytic	elicits information/opinion in and self-directed problem solving/self-discovery for the client.
Supportive	affirms worth/value or enhances self-image of the client.

“Client” in this sense refers to any person availing him or herself of the practitioner's professional services. “Intervention” refers to an identifiable piece of verbal and or non-verbal behaviour, including the intention of the practitioner's in using it.

Source: Heron (1977 p. 3 and 1986 p. 9 and 10).

Heron goes on to place his interventions into two superordinate categories labelled as “authoritative” and “facilitative”. Specifically, he classifies his prescriptive, informative and confronting interventions as being “authoritative” and his cathartic, catalytic and supportive interventions as being “facilitative”. He makes no judgement as to the relative value of each group of interventions beyond suggesting that an exclusive use of those labelled as “authoritative” is not particularly useful (Heron, 1985).

In addition, Heron goes on to list a number of interpersonal interventions that he does not consider particularly helpful. Heron (1985) collectively labels such interventions as being “degenerative”.

Alongside these interventions, Heron proposes six dimensions or basic issues that should be considered by trainers working as “facilitators” of learning in groups:

Dimensions

Planning this relates to the objectives of the group.

Meaning this is to do with the participants understanding of what is going on and with their making sense of their experience.

Confronting	this is to do with raising the consciousness of the participants about what they need to learn.
Feeling	this is to do with how the emotions in the group should be handled.
Structuring	this is to do with the methods that should be used and how they should be structured.
Valuing	this is to do with creating an environment that supports learning.

Responsibility for each dimension may be thought of as falling into three "modes". In the "authority" mode the facilitator decides how any given dimension should be managed, in the "co-operation" mode the decision is a joint one between the facilitator and the group members and in the "autonomy" mode the decision rests solely with the group members.

A "Facilitator" is described as a person who has the role of helping participants to learn in an experiential group. An "experiential group" is defined as "a group in which learning takes place through the active and aware involvement of the whole person as a thinking, feeling, choosing, spiritual, energetic being" (Heron 1989, p.11).

Heron's work began in the context of interpersonal skills training for trainers within various professions (social workers, clinical psychologists, psychotherapists, nurses, doctors, dentists, counsellors, teacher trainers and, later, police trainers) and extended into what he calls "the cognitive and technical domains of traditional education" (Heron, 1977 p. i). It was intended to be prescriptive in the sense of amounting to a set of working hypotheses to be tested and revised against the experience of the student trainer. Heron's view was that this process would not only serve to revise his model but could also improve performance by raising the trainer's consciousness of his or her behaviour. Such a focus on consciousness meant considerable emphasis was given to "trainee-centred" experiential methods of training that focused on discovery learning in Heron's courses. Examples of these methods may be found in Heron's (1982) booklet entitled "Experiential Training Techniques".

Heron's models do not, however, have an empirical basis in research. Here, Heron suggests that his categories "... are prescriptively derived from a consideration of what it is meaningful and worthwhile to do in relating to other persons in the human condition: they are put forward as a prescriptive hypothesis, not as empirical data." (Heron, 1977 p. ii). In common with a great deal of research conducted within the framework of experiential social psychology, it seems that Heron's categories and dimensions stem from an introspective analysis of his own experience.

In the early 1980s police training in the Metropolitan Police Service made the transition from an ideology of teaching largely based on the use of lectures dealing with the “what to do” of police work to one largely based on “facilitative methods” dealing with “‘how to do’ the ‘what to do’” (Bultitude, 1985 p.1). This shift embraced “student centred learning” and the initial tutors’ course of the day expressed a need to value such an approach as one of its principal objectives. “Student centred learning” is not defined explicitly here; it is rather associated with the use of training techniques derived from Heron’s work. The most influential of these training techniques may be found in the internal police training publication entitled “SAFER PC” by Riley (1988). Colin Riley, one of Heron’s students, was a police-training designer in the late 1980s. “SAFER PC” amounts to a mnemonic device used to refer to the following “interventions”:

Support and encourage

Advise and suggest

Feedback information to students on their abilities and behaviour

Enable students to make the most of their experience

Release tension

Provide information

Challenge constructively

As in the case of Heron, Riley identifies his interventions with two superordinate categories: 'student control' and 'dominating and controlling'. Specifically, he suggests that the advise and suggest, feedback, provide information and challenge interventions may be collectively regarded as being "more dominating and controlling" in terms of the trainer's behaviour while the supporting, enabling and release tension interventions may be thought of as "handing more control to the students". He then claims that good facilitation is about using a balanced combination of these interventions appropriately according to the circumstances.

Riley claims that "SAFER PC" is an "amended and re-named" version of Six Category Intervention Analysis. "SAFER PC" does not, however, map neatly onto Six Category Intervention Analysis, as is suggested in the table below:

Riley		Equivalent Heron Category	
Interventions	Superordinate Category	Interventions	Superordinate Category
Support and Encourage	Student Control	Supportive	Facilitative
Advise and Suggest	Dominating and Controlling	Prescriptive	Authoritative

Feedback	Dominating and Controlling		
Enable	Student Control	Elements of Catalytic	Facilitative
Release Tension	Student Control	Cathartic	Facilitative
Provide Information	Dominating and Controlling	Informative	Authoritative
Challenge Constructively	Dominating and Controlling	Confronting	Authoritative

Riley's additional category appears to be the feedback intervention. This intervention embraces both positive and negative feedback. If one were to view these interventions descriptively, rather than in the prescriptive manner advocated by Heron, it might be argued that negative feedback falls within Heron's "confronting" category and that positive feedback falls within his "supportive" category. However, this kind of analysis may be more valid in respect of the relationship between negative feedback and confrontation because there appears to be a stronger relationship between the superordinate categories for these interventions than might be case when one considers positive feedback and Heron's "supportive" category. The rationale of the inclusion of "feedback" is not made clear in Riley's work, although, the point that this additional intervention falls within the "dominating and controlling" category may be a reflection of the differences between the social context of police probationer training and that of Heron's experiential groups.

In addition to this, Riley's "enable" intervention seems to be a little broader than Heron's "catalytic" intervention. The common ground here lies in the reflective nature of each intervention, the difference lies in the inclusion of providing the students with opportunities to experience novel events in the "enable" intervention.

This amended form of Heron's work features heavily in the course for trainers organised by the police service. Evidence of this may be found in some of the course support material for the trainers course (known as the "Core Course") in which there is a specific session on SAFER PC having the following aims and objectives:

Aims

- Using pre-read methods introduce students to the SAFER PC model.
- Task student to relate model to their personal experience.
- Incorporate SAFER PC model as an identifiable theme throughout the Core Course.

Objectives

Student instructor will be able to:

1. State the elements of the SAFER PC model.
2. Explain each element of the SAFER PC model.
3. Discuss how the SAFER PC model relates to the management of students learning.
4. Demonstrate an ability to incorporate the SAFER PC model into their teaching.

In addition, the SAFER PC model is explicitly referred to in the objectives for a number of other sessions that take place during this course. These include those relating to the use of discussions, teaching skills and feedback.

Heron's Six Category Intervention Analysis also forms the primary subject matter of the two-week trainers development course (attended by trainers six to nine months after they have completed their initial trainers training course).

The theme continues in the second trainers' development course with an appraisal of a model directly linked to counselling, namely, Egan's (1994) skilled helper model. The primary aim of this course is to give the trainers the option of using Egan's proactive approach to therapeutic problem solving in circumstances where its use might seem appropriate.

With the exception of the two-week practice-based component of the initial trainers' course, courses for trainers in the Metropolitan Police do not deal with issues associated with lesson material. The broad range of trainers that they train gives rise to a primary focus on classroom process. The next section explores the first point at which this process-based ideology is translated into practice.

Centrally Designed Lesson Material

Lesson material for the police probationer-training syllabus is produced centrally by the Technical Design and Research Unit (T.D.R.U.) and distributed to the local training centres that run the courses. The syllabus makes no explicit reference to the type of interactions described in the above section, nor does it refer to the concepts of "student-centred" or "experiential" learning that underpin them. It seems likely that such an omission is the result of the T.D.R.U.'s syllabus appearing in the form of lesson material rather than as advice on training ideology. This situation may have arisen as a result of the role of the T.D.R.U. as designers of training materials for students rather than as providers of courses for trainers.

The lesson material designed by the T.D.R.U. consists of six booklets, one for each probationer attendance. Each booklet is organised along the lines of a theme designed to run throughout the course of the

attendance. Each theme is then broken down into a number of phases. For example, the theme for attendance one deals with the investigation of a burglary. The week begins with the crime being reported to police (phases 1 and 2), moves on to explore some of the issues and investigative considerations associated with the taking of statements from witnesses (phases 3 and 4) and culminates in the arrest and charge of a person suspected of committing the crime (phases 5 to 9).

Each phase consists of a number of lessons, the training material intended to support its delivery and advice on the areas of skill that the trainer should focus on. The lessons in trainers' notes are cross-referenced with those in the students' pre-reading material. The objectives for the classroom-based lessons are recorded in this pre-reading material. In many instances a distinction is drawn between the objectives for studying the written material and those for the subsequent lesson, for example:

After you have studied the written lesson you should be able to:

1. List factors to be considered when deciding if a Scene Examiner needs to be called to a crime scene.
2. Explain how the Scene Examiner would be called to a crime scene.

3. State briefly the different services that a Scene Examiner can provide.
4. Name the Scene Examiner at your Police Station.
5. Explain why any forensic evidence may be an exhibit for court.

After your trainer has provided suitable learning experiences you should be able to:

1. Explain what happens to an article once it becomes an exhibit.
2. Identify the most likely location of contact traces at crime scenes.

Extract 4.1

Objectives from Attendance 1: Scene Examiner and Support Services

Alternatively, some of the objectives featured in the students' pre-reading material do not draw any distinction between the objectives hoped to be achieved from reading the material and those for the lesson that follows it. For example:

At the end of the lesson you should be able to:

1. Explain the problem that investigators have when dealing with serious sexual assault victims.
2. List in order of priority your initial action on receipt of a complaint of a serious sexual assault.
3. Describe the conflict between the system of criminal justice and the needs of a victim of crime.
4. Explain the meaning of empathy in relation to victims of serious sexual assault.
5. Briefly, describe the key elements in the procedure for investigating serious sexual assault.
6. Demonstrate an awareness of the facilities available to investigators to assist detection and to alleviate the suffering of victims of serious sexual assault.

Extract 4.2

Objectives from Attendance 6: Sexual Offences 3:

Initial Action in Serious Sexual Assault Cases

However these objectives are presented, the majority of them focus on the cognitive rather than the affective aspects of police experience. The objective shown at 4 and, to some extent, 3 in extract 4.2 above are very rare in that they include a larger affective element in them than is usually the case, those featured in extract 4.1 are far more typical in this respect. This anomaly may result from the emotive nature of the lesson material referred to in extract 4.2 and is featured in this chapter to illustrate the point that lessons dealing with even the most emotive of topics focus mainly on the cognitive elements of experience. Such a focus may have arisen because these lesson objectives were probably constructed with measurement in mind. This takes place by means of examinations at the beginning of each attendance on the pre-reading material and observations made and recorded of the student's performance at the end of each attendance by the trainer. It is likely that such measurement is easier where the cognitive aspects of performance are considered, a student's emotional state is not quite so easy to measure by these means. In the chapters that follow it will be argued that these objectives exert a considerable impact on the talk in this classroom setting. Such an impact may be indicative of the influence of the older objectives-driven model of training encountered by the Home Office in their mid-1980s review of police probationer training (as noted earlier in this chapter). In addition to this pedagogical consideration, some aspects of wider police culture are not favourably disposed to a display of certain kinds of emotional experience. For example, expressing emotions such as sadness may be thought of as inconsistent with what Smith and Gray

(1985) refer to as the “cult of masculinity” in the police service. This then forms the basis for a dilemmatic ideology in which the wider ideals of experiential learning sit somewhat uncomfortably with the demands of the curriculum and the cultural values of the police service more generally.

The Trainers: A Local View

The analysis that is reported in this section is, to some extent, consistent with that of Fielding’s (1988) study of police recruit and probationer training in Derbyshire (as described in Chapter 2 of this thesis). While “interactive teaching” cannot be directly equated with a “student-centred” approach, it is referred to as a teaching style placing some emphasis on student involvement, primarily through the use of narrative. This aspect of interactive teaching seems to have something in common with the “student-centred” approach as practised in the setting for the research reported in this thesis.

In Fielding’s study, the abstract notion of “interactive teaching” becomes manifest through a narrative process. The content of the narratives are then perceived as introducing work-place practice into the classroom, a process further supported by broader cultural concerns that give a primacy to practice over what is considered “theory”.

Definitions and acceptance of “student-centred learning” vary between the trainers interviewed for the purposes of this study. For example, one trainer described student-centred learning as:

1. Trainer Well I mean I would say that was you know the exact
2. opposite of your chalk and talk you stand there and
3. deliver erm where the students are not participating at all/
4. they're just sitting there and listening and soaking stuff in
5. erm you know I would see any student centred learning
6. as being totally opposed to that where the instructor only
7. performs erm perhaps a minor role inasmuch as the
8. activity that he or she is performing erm and the students
9. do most of the work with the guidance or a steer from
10. yourself you know whether that is either in role-play
11. situations or buzz groups or what ever it would involve
12. them at some stage so you know it's/ student centred
13. would be you know having them involved in someway/
14. more than just sitting there and listening

Sequence 4.1.

Extract of interview with trainer S.H.

In this extract, student-centred learning is described as a process diametrically opposed to a method the trainer calls “chalk and talk”. “Chalk and talk” refers to a style of training that is widely considered by

the trainers to have flourished in the police prior to the inception of student-centred learning in the 1980s. This method is characterised as one in which the trainers were proactive and did most of the talking in the class in contrast with the passive role adopted by the students. On the other hand, student-centred learning is portrayed as involving a more passive and reactive training role in which the trainer acts as a "resource" for the students. Defining one concept with reference to another in this way may be further evidence of a single dilemmatic ideology operating in this setting (Billig et al. 1988). Such a description of "student-centred learning" seems to be broadly consistent with that implied by the central training establishment.

Not all the trainers were as clear about the nature of student-centred learning, however, for example:

1. Trainer Yeah no well erm no the "student-centred approach" well
2. I've always had a bit of confusion with this/ I didn't realise
3. whether they set the agenda or not erm/ you know
4. because obviously we're working to certain ends now if
5. we're to follow the ends that the students wanted we
6. obviously well I think/ hopefully by and large we'd concur
7. but I mean there are going to be areas that would be
8. missed off erm/ essential areas that they need to know
9. about that would be missed off and perhaps we'd just be
10. you know although diverting down an interesting path in

11. terms of like subject material it wouldn't actually be
12. relevant at the stage/ at the stage/ at the stage of their
13. careers erm now if that's what you mean by "student-
14. centred" well you know I personally think well O.K. fine it
15. might be fine eighty per cent of the time but that twenty
16. per cent is going to miss what's going to be needed to be
17. covered erm and so therefore yeah/ student involvement
18. fine because the agenda or what subject material is going
19. to be covered is actually set by the trainer or by the
20. people designing the actual package that the trainers then
21. deliver

Sequence 4.2

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

This trainer seems to acknowledge the high degree of student-involvement implicit in his description of student-centred learning but he also expresses the view that such involvement is necessarily limited as a result of the demands placed upon the classroom process by the curriculum. The comments that are reported in this sequence would seem to lend further support the view that a single dilemmatic ideology operates in this setting. In this instance, it is influenced by the dichotomy between the concepts of freedom and conformity and becomes manifest as an inconsistency between the ideals of learner-centred experiential learning and the demands of the curriculum.

In this study, the abstract concepts of “student-centred” and “experiential” learning are conceived as becoming manifest by those involved in the training of trainers through the prescriptive interventions of Heron and Riley. Whether they do so or not is beyond the scope of this study. There does, however, seem to be a link between these concepts and the use of narrative, particularly in respect of the use of role-plays and case studies. Evidence of such a link may be found in the Home Office review of probationer training (Home Office Review Team on Police Probationer Training, 1986), the extensive use of role-plays and case studies in the centrally provided lesson material and in some of the comments made by trainers (for example, sequence 4.1, above).

Summary

This chapter began by considering what is meant when the term “ideology” is used. It noted that the plethora of definitions might be classified as either emphasising epistemology or sociology. Epistemological definitions tend to place an emphasis on truth and falsehood whereas sociological definitions tend to be more concerned with how ideas function in social life. Given that this thesis is most concerned with the functions served by stories, it adopts a definition more in line with sociological rather than the epistemological use of the

term. The dilemmatic nature of ideology was also acknowledged, as was the idea that broader dilemmatic debates influence particular context.

The ideology impacting on police training in four areas was then examined. The first of these operates at the governmental area of the Home Office. The three remaining areas operate within the police-training establishment and consist of the central department responsible for the training of trainers, the central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers and the local trainers themselves.

The pedagogical concepts of learner, trainee or student centred and experiential learning are central to the ideology of training operating in this setting. Three of the four areas explicitly use these concepts; the central department responsible for the probationer syllabus probably does not do so because their role is limited to designing lesson material. None of the areas that are considered in this chapter explicitly defines these concepts, they rather associate them with or distance them from particular types of knowledge or the use of particular techniques or methods. Since each area is concerned with a different aspect of police training, the uses to which these concepts are put varies between them. This manifests itself in the form of some differences between the areas in what they associate these concepts with.

Ideology and Narrative

Introduction

The principal methods used by trainers take the form of narrative. This chapter provides an overview of those that are to follow. It does this by briefly considering the form taken by narrative in the trainers' notes and the talk of this setting. It then moves on to briefly discuss the functions served by the use of stories and the constraints and controls influencing their use.

Narrative Forms

The syllabus for probationer training in the Metropolitan Police is set out in a series of booklets entitled "Trainers' Notes". These "Trainers' Notes" are published by the Technical Design and Research Unit (T.D.R.U.) at the Training Establishment in Hendon.

An analysis of the "Trainers' Notes" reveal that each weeklong probationer attendance at a local training unit is organised by a "theme". In five of the six attendances the subject matter of the theme is linked together by a story (two stories in the case of the fifth attendance). A table detailing the prevalence of story-themes in probationer training is set out below:

Attendance	Thematic Stories	Isolated Stories	Non – story sessions
1	Burglary investigation from initial action to case paper preparation		
2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Searching premises and diplomatic privilege • offensive weapons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of the station officer; • driving documents.
3	Informants, search warrants, searching premises, drugs and persons wanted		

4	Aiding and abetting, drink drive, police accidents, motor vehicle crime and cab disputes	public order (including tension indicators	
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robbery, road blocks, firearms, handling stolen goods and aggravated burglary. • Trespass and air weapons. 		
6	Sexual offences (kerb crawling), child protection, malicious communications and welfare	Sexual offences (rape)	

Table 5.1

Story-themes in Metropolitan Police probationer training

The narrative nature of the theme is made explicit in the introduction to the trainers' notes for the first and third attendance, for example:

Introduction

This exercise is based around a Burglary Theme and includes Interviewing Skills, Statement Taking and Preparation of Case Papers.

Having investigated a residential burglary at Flat 2, Aitken House, Aitken Road, (use a local location). Police receive information that suspects for the burglary decamped in a Ford Sierra motor car, a part index no. of which is supplied.

The following day an attempted burglary takes place and a witness who makes a statement to police observes this.

Sometime later the full index no. of a Ford Sierra motor car involved in the burglary is supplied by an anonymous witness.

A PNC check supplies details of the current keeper, James John Williams who fits the description of the suspect for the burglary and the attempt.

His LIO card shows him to associate with a Graham Goodyear and reliable information is received that Goodyear is also involved.

Goodyear is subsequently arrested, interviewed and admits being involved in the burglaries, which were carried out by Williams. He is charged accordingly and, after completion of the necessary paperwork is bailed to attend court at a later date.

The resource sheets of paperfeeds and role-play sheets are located at the end of this booklet and can be photocopied as they are needed.

Extract 5.1

Introduction in "Trainer's Notes" for Probationer Attendance 1

The narrative nature of the theme in the fourth, fifth and sixth attendances emerges in the form of links in the training material rather than being made explicit in the introduction to the trainers' notes.

Each theme is then broken down into a series of phases dealing with procedural and legal issues as they arise during the course of the story. Each phase specifies the topic(s) to be covered, the general skill areas the trainer should focus on, the activity and props that should be used and the lessons in the probationers' pre-reading material that are relevant to it. An outline to one of these phases is set out below:

Activity	Props
Role-play sheets Role-playing a cab dispute	Cab driver's licence Cab driver's badge (green & yellow) Meter (if possible)
Skill Areas	New Lessons
Questioning techniques Enquiring approach Uses information Control & reward Confidence Assertiveness Approach & contact Law Police procedure/practice Problem solving & Decision making Discretion Impartiality	Cabs Cab disputes

Extract 5.2

Outline of Phase 5 of the 'Trainer's Notes' for Probationer Attendance 4

As noted in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the objectives for the lessons featured in each phase are contained in the students' pre-reading material.

The guidance given to trainers about the skill areas they should focus on concentrates largely on the cognitive aspects of experience such as problem solving skills, the application of legal knowledge and the use of questioning techniques. The one exception to this relates to the material dealing with the emotive subjects of sexual assault and child abuse. Here, the trainers are asked to include empathy and sympathy as a part of the lesson's focus. In general, however, there is a high degree of consistency between these skill areas and the cognitive orientation of the lesson objectives.

The activities advocated in the trainers' notes consist solely of role-plays and, what is referred to as, "paperfeeds". "Paperfeeds" are so called because they refer to training methods in which students work together in small groups to address tasks given to them on a piece of paper. They include case studies and "discussions". Case studies frame these tasks in the context of a narrative whereas "discussions" do not. The extent to which the trainers' notes propose that role-plays, case studies and discussions should be used is set out in the table below:

Attendance	Case Studies	Role-Plays	“Discussions”
1	0	4	3
2	1	4	1
3	2	2	2
4	3	2	2
5	9	2	1
6	3	2	0

Table 5.2

Summary of the techniques advocated in the “Trainer’s Notes”

While this pattern of distribution would appear to have little underlying structure to it, the variable duration of each activity allows for the whole week of each attendance to be filled with the use of these activities. This suggests that when the process of experiential learning is translated into classroom practice by those responsible for writing lesson material it emerges primarily in the form of narrative.

The trainers themselves also link “experiential learning” to the use of teaching methods involving narrative. In particular, experiential learning seems to be linked to the idea that work-place practice should be introduced into the classroom. Such work-place practice is often framed in a narrative form, for example:

1. Trainer Right well certainly if you're looking at
2. "experiential learning"/ it's very difficult erm to actually
3. simulate what they will have operationally erm/ in relation
4. to all the topics that that we cover you can't simulate that
5. in a classroom or a building like we've got/ you know that
6. can only ever be experienced in the vast majority of cases
7. actually out doing the job/ so obviously we prepare the
8. (...) in many respects what we try and do is prepare them
9. for that experience by giving them knowledge and
10. perhaps an understanding erm/ but there are certain
12. areas where they can do experiential learning erm/
13. obviously things like well I mentioned the attendance
14. three where we do you know with the three tasks at the
15. end of the week/ well obviously coming up to that week
16. we get them to do things like prem-searches/ we can
17. simulate that erm so that's quite useful/ and searching of
18. premises dealing with the finding of property how they
19. deal with the property how they deal with individuals on
20. the premises because we can get stooges in erm/ things
21. that they actually sort of suddenly realise "Well this is a
22. fault and now I know it's a fault so I can therefore
23. recognise that and I won't repeat it in a real-life situation"

- 24. so in that respect you can use "experiential learning"
- 25.

Sequence 5.1

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

In this extract the trainer links the idea of experiential learning to that of experience by activity in the work place outside the classroom or role-play within it. The use of narrative as a means of introducing work-place practice into the context of the classroom is by no means limited to the themes and activities planned and suggested by the T.D.R.U. It also includes the use of short verbal accounts, for example:

- 1. TrainerI think that it's a thing that a
- 2. lot of trainers do it the first thing they kick off in their
- 3. lesson is what experiences people have had
- 4. whatever the topic is and again I think it's that
- 5. driving for relevance you know.....

Sequence 5.2

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract the trainer refers to personal anecdotes that are elicited from students. The analysis that is to follow will suggest that trainers and

students use two main types of verbal account in this setting: anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Anecdotes are stories of events past while hypothetical accounts are stories of events that may come to pass in the future.

When considered on a line-by-line basis in the transcripts, anecdotes make up approximately 19% and hypothetical accounts make up approximately 24% of the talk in the plenary sessions of this setting. The term “approximately” is used here because any attempt to quantify this essentially qualitative data gives rise to some difficulties in being able to clearly delineate the boundary between the story and other elements in the talk or between two separate story sequences.

Narrative Functions

In the chapters that follow, this thesis will argue that the use of narrative serves to introduce work-place practice into the classroom (as suggested in sequence 5.1). This then serves to emphasise the relevance of the lesson material to the performance of the students in the work place (as suggested in sequence 5.2). Emphasising the relevance of lesson material is thought to motivate the students to learn it, for example:

1. Trainer the vast majority of robberies out there are
2. street robbery so I would then I tailor my lesson

3. my lesson to dealing with the practical aspects of
4. that subject much more than the very theoretical
5. aspects trying to adapt the theory as much as
6. possible to practice so that it becomes relevant
7. for the students they see it and because they see
8. it's relevant hopefully they then are interested.....

Sequence 5.3

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

It is hoped that motivating the students to learn will enhance their participation in the lesson. Greater student participation in the talk and activity of the classroom is seen as being consistent with the ideology promoting student involvement in this setting. Such participation is considered to be a form of experiential learning.

Trainers also use this type of story to clarify legal and procedural concepts that they think of as being complicated. This takes place by placing abstract police procedures and criminal law that is unfamiliar to the students into a concrete context that they are familiar with. The processes that take place when stories are used for this purpose include defining abstract concepts by exploring their boundaries in a concrete context. This process of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar may be evidence of an underlying constructionist epistemology operating in this setting.

The use of stories as a means of experiential learning and as way of realising a constructionist epistemology may have favourable consequences for memory. This could be the case because memories of classroom events might be strengthened by increasing the amount of processing effort required of the students and by reinforcing the association between new and old memories.

Stories may also serve to entertain the students. The use of humour and drama may capture the interest of the students enhancing their enjoyment of the lesson. This provides another basis for motivating the students to participate in the lesson and learn the material. There are, however, limitations on the use of stories purely as a means of entertainment in that some of the identity claims they seem to support are not wholly consistent with the role of the trainer in police probationer training.

Trainers use stories acted or told by students to assess their level of understanding at the start of and during a lesson. That the trainers consider the level of understanding important may be further evidence of a constructionist epistemology underpinning the use of stories in this setting.

In addition to serving these pedagogic functions, the telling of stories may also be influenced by the wider socio-cultural context. Here it will be

argued that the telling of stories is a general aspect of police culture and that there is some consistency between this and the use of stories in the classroom. It will be suggested that the use of stories may be underpinned by a more general preference for practice over what is considered “theory” and that the use of stories in the classroom has something in common with their use in police canteens.

Narrative Constraints and Control

Trainers judge the worth of stories used in the classroom according to their verisimilitude. This means that judgements are made about the strength of a story’s relationship to the kind of events that students are likely to experience in the work place. Stories considered to have a strong enough relationship with work-place experience are used; those failing to have such a relationship are either amended or discarded.

Two important qualifications need to be made to the way verisimilitude is defined and applied in this setting. In terms of definition, what is considered “relevant” in this setting is less than the whole of experience. Here, judgements of verisimilitude tend to be confined to the cognitive and task orientated elements of events in the work place. This may be so for two reasons. First, as suggested above, the objectives of lessons are typically cognitive ones. Any departure from these objectives represents a departure from the curriculum. Second, considered from the socio-

cultural domain, a display of some emotions might be seen as inconsistent with what Graef (1989) has referred to as “machismo” in the police service (this includes values promoting “strength, toughness and street wisdom”).

In terms of application, the rigour with which judgements of verisimilitude are made varies according to the type of story that is used. Stories demanding greater emotional or attentional resources, such as themes and role-plays warrant a more rigorous application of verisimilitude than case studies, anecdotes or hypothetical accounts. The type of the story to be used can, in turn, be influenced by the nature of the lesson material. The more sensitive the lesson material, the less likely it is that the emotionally demanding role-play will be used. In this sense, verisimilitude may be regarded as operating within a range in this setting, determined by the type of the story and the nature of the lesson material, rather than as an absolute value.

Trainers try to ensure that stories remain inside the range of verisimilitude for two reasons. First, students may view stories falling outside the range as being irrelevant. This may give rise to a situation in which the students are not motivated to learn lesson material that includes them. Second, the use of emotive material in stories may give rise to a situation in which the affective aspects of the students' behaviour may take events in the classroom beyond the control of the

trainer. In both instances, trainers fear a departure from the cognitive and task orientated objectives of the lesson.

In an attempt to avoid the consequences that might arise from the use of stories falling outside the range of verisimilitude in this setting, trainers endeavour to control every aspect of their use. As has been suggested, stories falling outside the range prior to their use are either adapted or discarded. During their telling, trainers use a number of techniques to prevent them departing from the range. After their telling, trainers carefully control the de-briefing of their use. These aspects of story use, as well as the others mentioned in this chapter, form the basis of the chapters to follow.

Summary

This chapter set out to provide an overview of those that are to follow by briefly considering the use of narrative and its relationship to the ideology operating in this setting.

Narrative takes the form of themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Each of the six week long probationer attendances at a local training unit is organised by a theme. Almost all of the themes amount to a story. Each theme is then broken down into phases. Each phase is supported by planned lesson material consisting

substantially of role-plays and case studies. In addition to using this material, trainers also use short verbal accounts in the form of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Anecdotes are stories of events past, hypothetical accounts are stories of events that may come to pass in the future.

Narrative is used as a means of introducing work-place practice into the classroom context. This serves to emphasise the relevance of the lesson material to the students, thereby motivating them to learn it. This enhances the involvement of the students in the lesson, a consequence that is desirable in terms of the educational ideology operating in this setting. Stories are also used to clarify abstract legal and procedural concepts. The use of stories as a means of enhancing involvement and clarifying abstract concepts may have some favourable consequences for memory.

The use of stories in this setting may also be influenced by the wider police cultural context, a context in which the use of stories might be regarded as the manifestation of a general preference for practice over what is considered "theory". In this sense, the use of stories in the classroom may have something in common with those used in other police settings such as station canteens.

In this setting as in any other, stories are judged by their verisimilitude. The way verisimilitude is defined as referring to the cognitive and task

orientated aspects of the students' work-place experience. The way judgements of verisimilitude are applied in this setting varies according to the form of the story used and the nature of the lesson material discussed. Such judgements are more rigorously applied where the form of story used demands a relatively high attentional or emotional commitment on the part of the students and where the lesson material refers to an emotive topic.

Trainers are concerned that stories failing in their verisimilitude will have unfavourable consequences for classroom processes. These include demotivating the students and giving rise to situations in which a tide of emotion takes events beyond the control of the trainers. In a bid to minimise the possibility of these unfavourable consequences, trainers influence which stories are used in the classroom. They also influence the way the story is told when it is used and the way it is de-briefed following its use.

Story Themes

Introduction

On Thursday and Friday of last week, Michael and Patrick together, using Michael's car, commit two offences of burglary artifice (*gaining access to premises by deceiving the occupier and then stealing, for example, as a bogus gas official*). They are successful and obtain cash, pension books, chequebooks and credit cards.

Last Sunday night, Patrick met with Michael in a local pub. They had a heavy night drinking, celebrating their success and are planning more burglaries for this week. Patrick became friendly with a local female named Caroline.

Patrick is a drug user and in the bed-sit has a quantity of cannabis for his own use. When he moved in, Michael gave him a package to take care of. He knows that this package contains a firearm.

Both of the above items are hidden in the bed-sit, as is his remaining share of the money, a chequebook, credit card and a pension book. Patrick has used the credit card to purchase a mixed case of drink from the local off licence. The part-consumed drink is in the bed-sit.

Caroline, who is at the bed-sit when it is searched, has knowledge of the cannabis, having smoked some the night before, but no knowledge of the stolen property or the firearm. She will confirm many of the details about Michael who is missing.

Patrick will be arrested and taken to the police station for interview etc.

Michael is to be circulated as wanted, via PNC (*Police National Computer*), book 66 etc.

Extract 6.1

Introduction to trainers' notes for probationer Attendance 3

This chapter sets out to explore the story-themes that are used in this setting. As has been suggested in Chapter 5 of this thesis, each week long probationer attendance at the local training unit is organised by a theme. In five of the six attendances, that theme takes the form of a story

(two stories in the case of the fifth attendance). The term “story-themes” is taken to refer to the themes of these five attendances. Extract 6.1 above is an example of one such theme, another can be found in extract 5.1 on pages 120 and 121 of this thesis.

Extract 6.1 can be regarded primarily as an instance of “orientation” from the point of view of Labov’s (1972) analytic scheme (as noted on pages 21 to 23). In this case, the introduction serves to orient the reader towards the story by introducing the people involved and the situation. The story then begins in the classroom with a role-play search of the accommodation occupied by one of the burglars (an example of this is shown in sequence 7.2 on pages 158 to 160). In this sense, the story theme starts where the situation described in the extract ends.

The same cannot be said for extract 5.1 on pages 115 and 116. An examination of this story theme (as set out on pages 134 and 135 below) suggests that it starts where the situation described in the extract starts (the initial investigation by the police at the scene of a burglary) and ends where the situation described in the extract ends (the paperwork completed by police after a person has been charged with an offence). This then may amount to an “abstract” because it summarises the story.

This line of reasoning suggests that the point of the stories in these extracts is different. In the case of extract 6.1, the students pick up where the introduction finishes, perhaps, filling in the other elements in Labov’s

scheme (for example, the “complicating actions”). In the case of extract 5.1, the students complete the story by elaborating on the outline set out in the “abstract”.

Extract 5.1 also contains some instances of what might be coded “complicating actions”, “evaluations” and “results”. The same might be said of extract 6.1, although to a lesser extent since the “result” is to be worked out during the course of the attendance. What marks these extracts as “orientation” or “abstract” according to Labov’s scheme is a matter of context.

Story Themes: Form

The foundations of the story lines in probationer training themes rest either on a single continuous sequence of police procedure or a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. Each phase of the probationer attendance is represented as a stage in the story. Each stage consists of at least three elements: event, character and location.

The themes are founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure in the first and third probationer attendances. The links between the stages in those themes manifest themselves in the form of common ground between at least two of the three elements.

An analysis of the story line for the first attendance is set out below:

Attendance 1

1. Initial investigation & scene preservation (role-play of a burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
2. Completion of station record (exercise involving the station record of the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
3. Witness interview (role-play with a witness to the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
4. Consideration of the evidence obtained up till now (group exercise involving the consideration of all the information obtained up until now in respect of the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
5. Arrest and initial detention (role-play about arresting the suspect for the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
6. Interviewing a person suspected of crime (role-play of an interview with the person suspected as having committed the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
7. Summarising tape-recorded interviews (an exercise involving summarising the interview of the person suspected as having committed the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
8. Fingerprint and photographs (role-play of the person suspected as having committed the burglary at "2, Aitkin

House" being fingerprinted and photographed by police after having been charged).

9. Completion of case papers (exercise involving the completion of the prosecution case papers on the person suspected as having committed the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").
10. Seizure & disposal of property (discussion concerning the disposal of the property seized by police during the investigation into the burglary at "2, Aitkin House").

The procedures involved in police investigative practice in respect of a domestic burglary form the foundation of this story line. It begins with the police being called to the scene of a burglary, taking the necessary initial action and then moves on to investigate the offence. The person suspected of committing the burglary is subsequently identified, by virtue of this investigation, and is arrested. This individual is then interviewed by the police and charged. The attendance concludes with the post-charging process.

This theme and the first and third attendance takes a form similar to those of stories in the detective genre in that they begin with the consequence of someone's actions and proceed to unravel the precise nature and identity of the perpetrator of those actions as the theme develops (Eagleton, 1983).

Event, location and character link the stages in the themes of the first and third attendance. For example, the event (a burglary) and the location ("2, Aitkin House") of stages 1 to 10 of the theme for the first attendance are the same while the character in the form of the person suspected of having perpetrated the event is common to stages 5 to 10 of the theme.

In contrast, the foundations of the fourth, fifth and sixth attendance are a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. For instance, the offences dealt with in the fourth attendance are:

- Aiding and abetting (the statutory offence)
- Drink and driving (police powers/procedure under statute law)
- Goods vehicles (statute law concerning driving licences)
- Motor vehicle crime (crime prevention and detection strategies in respect of stolen cars)
- Cabs and cab disputes (police procedure)
- Public order (statute law)
- Tension indicators (police procedure)

The links between the mixture of this material also becomes manifest in the form of common ground between the surface elements of these themes. In the case of these attendances, many of the links consist of common ground in only one element. An example of this may be found in an analysis of the fourth attendance:

Attendance 4

1. Aiding & abetting (group paperfeed exercise in which a story about the unlawful taking of a car by three people is discussed).
2. Drink/drive procedure (group paperfeed exercise in which two of the people featured in the above story about the unlawful taking a car go to a public house and meet two other people, 'Dave' and 'Belinda'. 'Dave' is subsequently involved as a driver in a traffic accident with a goods vehicle after having had too much to drink. The story in this paperfeed exercise is then varied so that the students can consider the implications of such an accident if a police car had been involved).
3. Goods vehicles (group exercise in which the ages of all the characters featured in the aiding and abetting and drink/drive lesson are revealed and the students are tasked to research who can legitimately drive a various types of motor vehicle).
4. Motor vehicle crime (group paperfeed exercise in which it is revealed that one of the vehicles involved in the accident referred to in the drink/drive lesson is a 'ringer' - a stolen vehicle that has had its identity changed in some way).
5. Cab disputes (role-play exercise in which the person arrested for driving with too much drink in the drink/drive lesson, 'Dave',

is released from the station, catches a cab & then refuses to pay the fare).

The surface-link between stages 1 and 2 of this theme amounts to a relationship between the characters involved in each stage: the characters involved in stage 1 are friends of the characters involved in stage 2. The link between stages 1, 2 and 3 is that the characters involved in each are the same: the characters in stages 1 and 2 are used in the group exercise task for stage 3. The link between stages 2, 3 and 4 is that the stolen vehicle that forms the topic of discussion in the stage 4 exercise was also involved in the event, an accident, in which one of the characters featured in the stage 3 task was also involved. The link between stages 2, 3, 4 and 5 is that one of the characters that was involved in the event referred to in stage 2 and featured in stage 3 is subsequently involved in a dispute with a cab driver over the fare.

Story Themes: Function and Constraint

This section explores the trainers' views on the value and functions of the story-themes included in the probationer-training programme. In particular, the conditions in which theming is useful and not so useful is considered.

The consensus among the trainers in this setting was that story-themes only worked well when a single continuous sequence of police procedure was involved. Two broad explanations were given for this being the case, one internal to the story and the other external to it.

One trainer suggested that the value of the story could be assessed in terms of the relationship of its component parts to each other:

1. Trainerthe theme has got to be an integral part of the story
2. so that if something happens at the beginning of the
3. week on the Monday erm is relevant to something that
4. happens on the Friday so the story is all part of it so
5. the attendance three is a classical example of
6. that.....

Sequence 6.1

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The criterion for considering the value of a story-theme suggested here depends on matters relating to its internal consistency, in particular, the strength of the relationship between the beginning and the end of the story. This criterion is probably related to the external criterion associated with realism (discussed below) since a judgement about the strength of the relationship between the beginning and the end of a theme may take

account of how true a representation of the students' work-place experience it is thought to be.

Criteria for considering the external value of a story-theme are far more prevalent in the interviews conducted with trainers for the purposes of this study. The first criterion amounts to the type of the subject matter that is themed, for example:

1. Trainer because it's procedural it seems to work well erm
2. and it gives us the opportunity to explain each section
3. erm it's like erm/ on the job training really

Sequence 6.2

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

This comment suggests that the theme is likely to work if the subject matter is police procedure. Taken into account with the internal criterion of consistency, this would mean that story-themes running a single continuous sequence of police procedure are likely to be more highly valued than those that do not. Evidence of this may be found in a number of comments made by trainers, for example:

1. Trainer It definitely has it's place in certain attendances so
2. that you can see the theme developing over the week

3. for instance like attendance one or attendance three....

Sequence 6.3

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

The trainers interviewed for the purposes of this study suggest that the overall effect of using story-themes consisting of a single continuous sequence of police procedure was to introduce an element of realism into the classroom.

1. Trainer ... covering subjects in a way where you actually built
2. from one lesson to another giving people more
3. information and actually taking them through what was
4. logical and how they would normally progress and
5. investigation because that was essentially what it was
6. all about erm/ if they were out there doing it for real so
7. in fact it was realistic and had relevance.....

Sequence 6.4

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that taking students through a story-theme consisting of a single continuous sequence of police procedure simulates events likely to occur in the students' work place outside the

classroom. This point of view suggests that verisimilitude is best achieved in story themes by focusing on such a sequence of events. Such themes are considered to be “realistic” in this sense. Themes that are “realistic” have “relevance” to the student. Presenting lesson material in a form that is relevant to the students’ work-place performance is often seen by trainers as a means of motivating students to learn such material by emphasising its importance to them. One of the trainers interviewed for the purposes of this study went on to say that motivating the students in this way substantially increased their level of involvement in the classroom:

1. TrainerThey can actually become
2. involved in the story because sometimes when you
3. see their work and you see them actually talking about
4. it it's as if this was a real job and sometimes it's
5. difficult to get them back to
6. reality.....

Sequence 6.5

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

From this perspective, the reality created by the use of story-themes based on a single continuous sequence of police procedure serve to make the classroom context relevant to the student by means of association with the work-place. This then motivates the student to learn

9. to be a drink driver and does a bit of criminal trespass
10. or what ever but you know in all honesty you can't
11. theme that sort of material they are lessons they as
12. subjects which stand out in their own right

Sequence 6.6

Extract from interview with trainer B.B.

One of the trainers thought that story-themes are constructed on such foundations because those responsible for writing the probationer training curriculum (the Training Design and Research Unit at Hendon) are of the view that these kind of narratives are a good idea independently of the context in which they are located:

1. Trainerbasically it
2. appears that theming was done for its own sake in that
3. somebody has sat down and said "Well look here's a
4. list of subjects most of them relating to traffic erm let's
5. theme them" and erm so the theme is not an integral
6. part of the week it's "Oh well how can we theme this?"
7. so "How can we get from aid and abet to drink-drive?"
8. and then "How do we get from the drink-drive into the
9. erm motor vehicle crime?" and so the theme is merely

- 10. a link a very weak link from one thing to the
- 11. next.....

Sequence 6.7

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The suggestion here seems to be that story-themes are used almost indiscriminately in the writing of the Trainer’s Notes. Such indiscriminate behaviour is seen to manifest itself in the links between the stages in the story:

- 1. Trainerthey
- 2. don't logically develop it's just a set subject and they
- 3. just linked tenuously linked the subjects together
- 4. rather than have a theme that's developed and
- 5. expanded on as the week goes on

Sequence 6.8

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

The superficial linking of fragmentary underlying material results in the stories not being credible to the trainers:

- 1. Trainerso my
- 2. complaint is that it becomes sort of almost incredible

3. you know these people do all these things and you
4. know I think it's sort of almost worse than not having a
5. theme at all because people sit there perhaps not
6. even believing it you know "I don't know what this
7. bloke's up to what's he going to do next?"/ and so it
8. almost becomes unbelievable

Sequence 6.9

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Such a lack of credibility means that the reality likely to be created by the use of themes founded on diverse subject matter is unlikely to have a strong relationship with the students' experience of the work place outside the classroom. From this point of view, the lack of relevance between classroom reality and work experience is hardly likely to involve the students in the lessons or motivate them to learn the subject matter. Such a lack of motivation is seen by some as being positively destructive to the classroom process:

1. Trainerputting theming
2. into an attendance where you're actually delivering
3. quite different material can often make it unrealistic
4. and therefore it actually detracts from what you're
5. trying to do because what you're actually using for
6. material for theming is pretty far fetched at some

7. stages/ so therefore it actually detracts from the
8. realism of what you're trying to get over and personally
9. I actually feel that the students perhaps could get quite
10. fed up because they don't see it as what's going on or
11. likely to go on

Sequence 6.10

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

One of the trainers thought that the effect of a lack of credibility in story-themes in which a variety of material was superficially linked was that it was likely to concentrate the minds of the students on the theme rather than on the material underpinning it:

1. Trainer there's things like in attendance five/ you know
2. they are tenuous links and so they become less
3. plausible I mean you find probationers sitting there
4. saying "What's the purpose of suggesting this theme
5. why can't it just stand by itself"/ and so end up with the
6. probationers debating about the theme rather than
7. concentrating on the issues

Sequence 6.11

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

In general, the trainers are of the view that story-themes founded on a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures do not work. In these circumstances, the themes may well remain unused. There are, however, some concerns about the credibility of some elements of those story themes founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure, notably, in respect of the first attendance. In these circumstances, the theme is adapted to make it appear more credible:

1. TrainerI mean there's one problem with
2. attendance one and their link is erm they're going
3. along investigating a crime report and suddenly they
4. get they're told "As a result of an anonymous phone
5. call you're told that this burglary was done by Harry
6. Bloggs" you know and that just sort of sticks out as
7. being totally false because that just doesn't happen
8. erm so we've always had it that erm the two crime
9. reports are matched up for the first time and you get
10. two part indexes and they link up erm through the
11. P.N.C. now you can do multiple checks and that gives
12. you a registered keeper so that is much more
13. believable.....

Sequence 6.12

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

From this trainer’s point of view, the story-theme to the first attendance has been adapted to make it more “believable”. What is believable in this context depends of the perceived strength of the association between what happens in the classroom and what happens in the work place. Another trainer also suggested that the general principles on which the subject matter itself is based might exert some constraints on the nature of the story that is told:

- 1. Traineron attendance one the
- 2. way in which they theme that is that eventually erm/ or
- 3. they're told or there's supposed to be some
- 4. connection between a burglary and a suspect and the
- 5. only connection is anonymous information and the
- 6. instructions are that they should then go and arrest
- 7. this suspect and quite categorically without doing more
- 8. legwork they would be making an unlawful arrest
- 9. because they've by no means been given any
- 10. reasonable grounds erm/ so in fact essentially we just
- 11. stuck with the old way in which we did it in which we'd
- 12. used you know various statements and put them
- 13. together

Sequence 6.13

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

Given that police officers are supposed to adhere to the law, this view may be another way of suggesting that a story-theme needs to be credible.

Summary

The foundations of the story-themes used in this setting vary. The themes in five of the six probationer attendances amount to a story. Two of them are founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure; the remaining three are founded on a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. They may be thought of as consisting of at least three elements: character, event and location. Links between the stages those themes founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure consist of common ground between at least two of those elements, while links between the stages in the remaining themes consist mainly of common ground between only one such element.

Trainers consider the value of a story-theme with reference to internal and external evaluative criteria. The internal evaluative criteria relate to the internal consistency of the story-theme. This includes a judgement of the extent to which the beginning of the story on the first day of the attendance relates to the end of the story on the last day. Such a

judgement may take account of the relationship between the events in the story and events likely to occur in the students' work place, an external evaluative criterion.

External evaluative criteria used by trainers consist of judgements concerning the relationship of the theme to events in the students' work place. These judgements include an assessment of whether the theme is founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure or a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. Themes founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure are deemed to be more credible than those founded on mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures as a result of the stronger relationship between them and events likely to occur in the students' work-place.

Story-themes having a strong relationship with events likely to occur in the work place are thought of as having more relevance to the students. More relevant story-themes are thought to motivate the students to learn by conveying the implicit message that the subject matter is important to them. Anecdotal evidence of such motivation may be found in the degree to which the students can become involved in the lessons. Enhanced student involvement might have some impact on memory processes. It might also be consistent with the student-centred ideology operating in this setting. Both these issues are more fully discussed in the chapters that follow.

Story-themes having a weaker relationship with events likely to occur in the work place are thought to de-motivate the students and to provide a source of distraction from the lesson material.

Trainers control themes by acting as gatekeepers to the classroom setting. Themes lacking the necessary verisimilitude are adapted where it is possible and discarded where it is not

Role-Plays

Introduction

Dave has been released from the police station at 1 am and takes a licensed hackney carriage home.

Now role-play the incident using the role-play sheets.

Dave

Background

You have been released from the police station at 1 am and have hired a licensed hackney carriage to take you home. During the journey you notice that the driver seems to be taking you along roads that you are not familiar with. The cab then draws up at your home.

Viewpoint

You decide you are not going to pay as you think that the driver took a round about route. You do not want to make a fuss but feel quite strongly about this. Explain to the police officer the circumstances if asked and provide any details that are requested. You are willing to pay what would have been the correct amount if a direct route had been taken.

Cab Driver

Background

You picked up this fare outside the local police station and have brought him to his house. You decided to take a round about route avoiding the high street because of a burst water main in the area.

Viewpoint

You are annoyed at the fare for refusing to pay. You want the officer to arrest the man. Explain your round about route if asked.

Police Officer

You are called to a residential street to deal with a disturbance between a cab driver and his fare.

Extract 7.1

Role-play sheets for Phase 5 of the "Trainer's Notes" for Probationer

Attendance 4

This chapter sets out to examine how role-plays are used in this setting. As suggested in Chapter 5 of this thesis, role-plays form a significant proportion of the methods advocated by the Training Design and Research Unit (T.D.R.U.) in the trainers' notes they provide for each probationer attendance.

The T.D.R.U. not only advocate the use of role-plays but also provide the material necessary to conduct them in the trainers' notes, extract 7.1 above is an example of this. The story themes referred to in the last chapter are then revealed to the students through the use of material such as this.

Role-Plays: Form

The role-plays used in this setting consist of three stages: introduction, activity and debriefing. In the introduction stage the trainer sets the scene for the role-play. This might take the form of a brief introduction to the topic in question followed by a short briefing for the role-players and the observers. Alternatively, it might be far more extensive and include some modelling by the trainer of the kind of behaviour she or he expects of the role-players, for example:

1. Trainer You need someone in charge
2. (S.H.) don't you?/ of your search/
3. and this will form part of
4. your briefing/ when you're
5. talking about erm/ the method/
6. whatever/ individual person's
7. roles/ you need someone in
8. charge/ "I am the person in
9. charge of this operation
10. anything that goes on in there
11. is to go on through me/
12. I don't take an active part in
13. what's going on I'm just
14. overseeing it and "/ what's

15.	that you're dribbling/	Trainer (S.H.)
16.	chomping at the bit there he	addresses
17.	was/ "O.K. I'm the person	student (C.H.)
18.	that's in overall charge/ I'm	directly.
19.	not going to take a physical	
20.	part in what's going on/ I'll	
21.	just be standing there/ I'll	
22.	just be watching/ anything	
23.	that you want to ask about you	
24.	come through me/ O.K. ?/ That's	
25.	my role/ you are the arresting	
26.	officer you go in and make	
27.	sure that/ if there is someone	
28.	in there/ that person is	
29.	arrested and secured by	
30.	whatever means it takes/ O.K. ?/	
31.	You are going to be standing	
32.	at the door	

Sequence 7.1

Extract from "Charlie 3" Class

This sequence took place prior to one of the students role-playing briefing a team of officers about to search private premises with a search warrant. It was preceded by a lesson on search warrants and was

located in the context of a story-theme centring on the police investigation of a burglary. The trainer models the behaviour he considers to be appropriate for an officer conducting a briefing in these circumstances. In doing this, the trainer maintains an element of control over the role-play; the issue of control will be discussed later on in this chapter.

The number of participants and extent of the activity in the next stage of role-plays varies from a single student standing in front of the rest of the class and role-playing a briefing to two students recording an allegation of a burglary to a larger number of students actively involved in searching private premises. An extract from a more complex role-play involving a larger number of students is set out below:

1. Student Jimmy O'Reilly/ O.K. Jimmy I've
2. (G.C.) got a warrant here to search these
3. premises in connection with two
4. burglary artifice that occurred at
5. thirty six Albert Road South
6. Norwood [
- [
7. Trainer [Yeah yeah [
- (R.M.) [
- [
8. Student [You are

9.	(G.C.)	under arrest on suspicion of	
10.		burglary [
		[
11.	Trainer	[Yeah yeah [
	(R.M.)	[
		[
12.	Student	[You do not	
13.	(G.C.)	have to say anything but if you do	Student
14.		not say something now which you	(J.C.)
15.		later rely on for your defence in	opens
16.		court	wardrobe
			door and
			looks
			inside it.
17.	Student	O.K. stand up slowly mate	Student
	(S.P.)		(S.P.)
			takes hold
			of
18.	Student	We're just going to handcuff you	Trainer
	(D.T.)		(R.M.)'s
			right arm
			and
			helps him to
			his feet. As
			trainer

(R.M.)
stands up,
Student
(G.H.)
takes his
left
arm.

19. Trainer Yeah
 (R.M.)

Students
(S.P.)
& (D.T.)
place
trainer
(R.M.)'s
hands
behind his
back
but do not
actually
handcuff
him.

Sequence 7.2

Extract from "Purple 3" Class

This role-play took place following another role-play in which one of the students briefed a team of officers going to search private premises under the authority of a search warrant. In this instance, seven students play the different roles that make up a search team (for example, the arresting officer and the searching officer). The person arrested during the search is role-played by a trainer. In these circumstances, the trainer is well placed to exert some influence over events taking place in the role-play. Another way in which trainers might influence role-play situations is by manipulating the physical layout of the setting. This also varies from being minimal as in the instance of a single student role-playing a briefing to being quite extensive as in the case of a burglary or private premises to be searched. The issue of control will be taken up more fully later on in this chapter.

The debriefing of role-plays was more standardised in the probationer training classes observed for the purposes of this study. Each debriefing session observed followed the same pattern:

- (i) Trainer elicits feedback from the student participant(s) to the role-play activity.
- (ii) Trainer comments on the feedback from the student participant(s) to the role-play activity.

- (iii) Trainer elicits feedback from the student observers to the role-play activity.
- (iv) Trainer comments on the feedback from the student observers to the role-play activity.

The trainer sometimes follows this sequence with an invitation to any other trainer involved in the role-play for their comments (this varies according to the degree to which the other trainer has already commented on the role-play activity during the debriefing from the students).

An example of the beginning of the third stage of a debriefing sequence is set out below:

- | | | |
|----|---------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Trainer | Yeah (....)// O.K. first two on the |
| 2. | (P.B.) | right what was your remit what |
| 3. | | was on your little card? |
| 4. | Student | To see how they reviewed and |
| 5. | | established their priorities erm |
| 6. | | we thought it was good erm they |
| 7. | | gathered all the evidence |
| 8. | | together and listed it and erm the |
| 9. | | times (.....) [|

- [
10. Trainer [(.....) was good in
11. (P.B.) the way they reported it and deal
12. with it?
13. Student 1 Yeah I think so erm get a list of
14. what's missing once you've seen
15. what evidence you've got that's
16. the important one try and prevent
17. yourself from destroying any
18. evidence

Sequence 7.3

Extract from "Echo 1" Class

In this sequence, the trainer controls the debriefing from the student observers by virtue of having previously allocated them specific aspects of the activity stage to focus on. The trainer then simply asks the students to focus on the aspects of the role-play they were asked to pay attention to. The practice of focusing observers in this way was particular to this role-play, while the debriefing in the other role-plays observed during this research followed the stages set out above, the debriefing from student observers was not so explicitly focused.

Having described the elements that make up role-plays in this setting, this chapter will now consider functions served by this training technique.

Role-Plays: Function and Constraint

The role-plays used in this setting were viewed as being linked to the ideology of student centred learning (see Chapter 4 of this thesis). An example of this may be found in sequence 4.1 on page 107 above. Here the trainer suggests that the use of role-plays is one of the ways in which a student-centred ideology can be made manifest in the classroom. The trainer goes on to indicate that the trainer need only perform a minor role when methods such as role-plays are used and that the greater role that arises for the students as a result of this means that they are more involved in the classroom process.

Two issues arise from this consideration of extract 4.1: student involvement and trainer control. Both issues featured highly in the interviews conducted with trainers for the purpose of this research.

Student Involvement and Verisimilitude

The idea that role-plays might lead to greater involvement on the part of the students is inextricably linked to the view that they must have a

strong relationship with their experience of work outside the classroom, for example:

- 1. Trainer I think that the rule that they've got to
- 2. follow is to keep it normal keep it a story that could
- 3. happen to anybody and then I think that people will
- 4. accept and perhaps you know it would be more
- 5. believable what's the word? They can actually
- 6. become involved in the story because sometimes
- 7. when you see their work and you see them actually
- 8. talking about it it's as if this was a real job and
- 9. sometimes it's difficult to get them back to reality
- 10. and see "Well you know this is only
- 11. training".....

Sequence 7.4

Extract from Interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract the trainer expresses the view that role-plays are likely to involve the students if the subject matter of role-plays deal with events likely to occur in the working experience of the students. Role-plays about such working experience seem to have the potential to involve the students in way that engages the use of the imagination to such an extent that the trainer may experience difficulty in encouraging them to return to the classroom context.

The potential impact stories have on imagination may be a feature of storytelling that includes the creation of mental images, mental images that might support memory storage and retrieval processes. This issue is taken up further in the chapters that follow.

Involving the students in the lesson by the use of role-plays may also serve to motivate them to actively participate in the classroom process resulting in them treating it as if it is a “real job”. The trainers value such active participation because it is seen as being consistent with their student-centred ideology.

The kind of role-plays that can be used is, however, limited by their verisimilitude (Bruner, 1986). The yardstick for verisimilitude in this setting is events that the trainers consider are likely to be encountered by the students in their working environment outside the confines of the classroom. The implication of this view is that involvement amounts to something more than the physical context, more than simply standing up and doing something, it operates in the mental domain. In this sense, the context of the role-play, as with other classroom events, is a mental or rather an intermental one (Edwards and Mercer, 1987) in which shared knowledge is treated as a matter of “pragmatic intersubjectivity” (Edwards, 1997) and is analysed in terms of what the participants orient their talk to and how and when they do it (as suggested on page 49 of this thesis).

Even when role-plays do fall within the range of verisimilitude that trainers consider acceptable, there is still an acknowledgement of the limited nature of their relationship to the world outside the classroom. Evidence for this may be found in some of the classroom transcripts compiled for the purposes of this research, for example, the following sequence took place when a trainer was asked for his comments about a role-play, in which he had played a role, during a debriefing sequence:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | Trainer | Sergeant R.R. how was it for | |
| 2. | (P.B.) | you? | Students and
trainers laugh. |
| 3. | Trainer | Well they did very well erm | |
| 4. | (R.R.) | bearing in mind that it is a false | |
| 5. | | situation it's a role-play situation | |
| 6. | | and there's thirteen other people | |
| 7. | | watching you so it's not easy | |

Sequence 7.5

Extract from "Echo 1" Class

In this sequence a trainer acknowledges to the students that the very act of role-playing in a classroom gives rise to a situation that is necessarily limited in its relationship to events outside the classroom. This view was

expressed even more succinctly by one of the trainers interviewed during this research:

1. Traineryeah limited use of them is quite
2. valuable but at the end of the day you're stuck in a
3. classroom yeah on the fifth floor of A.H. and you're
4. not out there on the streets.....

Sequence 7.6

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

Such views on the limitations of role-plays are echoed by one of the trainers interviewed in Fielding's (1988) study of police probationer training in Derbyshire when she or he says:

"You cannot effectively play roles because they know it's acting and they act back." (Fielding, 1988 p.74).

This suggests that trainers are faced with an ideological dilemma in which role-plays are one and at the same time thought to have value in introducing work-place practice into the classroom and at the same time to be of limited value in being able to do so.

As noted above, role-plays are seen as being most useful when they have a close relationship with events likely to be experienced by the

students in their place of work (for example, sequence 7.4 above). The more successful role-plays in this respect tend to be regarded as those located in the larger narrative framework of a “good” story theme, for example:

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| 1. | Researcher | O.K. What about role-plays/ do they have any |
| 2. | | value do you think? |
| 3. | Trainer | Yeah they can be erm attendance 3 within that |
| 4. | | theme they are useful because erm the theme in |
| 5. | | attendance 3 develops to the execution of a |
| 6. | | warrant and search of premises erm it is useful |
| 7. | | and that is as a role-play erm it's done as a role- |
| 8. | | play here where they actually go in and search |
| 9. | | the premises with the warrant and that is useful |
| 10. | | because it is a culmination of the theme and it's a |
| 11. | | within the within the theme part of it/ it's less |
| 12. | | useful if you're just I think if erm in those stand |
| 13. | | alone sections erm..... |

Sequence 7.7

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

As has been suggested in Chapter 6 of this thesis, the better story-themes are those that seem to have a higher degree of internal

consistency between events in the story and follow a story-line having a stronger relationship with events likely to be experienced by the students in the work-place. The effect of this is that role-plays taking place in the first and third probationer attendance are regarded as having greater value than those occurring in the other attendances.

Role-plays that did not meet the standards of verisimilitude in this setting are sometimes adapted. For example:

1. Trainer I tailor my lesson my lesson to
2. dealing with the practical aspects of that subject
3. much more than the very theoretical aspects
4. trying to adapt the theory as much as possible to
5. practice so that it becomes relevant for the
6. students they see it and because they see it's
7. relevant hopefully they then are interested and
8. then when it actually comes out to the work place
9. the training has some impact

10. Researcher When you say "adapt the material" erm/ how do
11. you go about actually adapting it?

12. Trainer Erm well for instance the Hendon package will
13. do/ has asked you to do a role-play so take the
14. robbery for example/ you do a role-play with an

15. armed robbery at the scene of an armed robbery
16. with a victim and erm the role-play then leads
17. erm asks the police officer to role-play how they
18. would treat the victim and so on and the follow
19. up steps to that armed robbery dealing with the
20. road checks for example setting up a road check
21. well in my experience erm after an armed
22. robbery road checks are never set up any way
23. erm/ most probationers are aware of the
24. fundamentals of preserving scenes of crime and
25. dealing with victims because that's what they do
26. a lot of anyway be it burglary or whatever you
27. know they're preserving scenes and dealing with
28. victims all the time erm/ so that's the Hendon
29. slant on robbery as well as dealing with the
30. points to prove so I took it and thought "Well how
31. much of this do I think is relevant" and "How
32. much how can I use that time on the same
33. subject to better effect so I took the robbery
34. lesson still did the points to prove but then
35. centred around looking at street robbery instant
36. confrontations/ street identification erm and so
37. on/ that's like I said adapting a lesson the same

38. subject but approaching it from a completely

39. different different way

Sequence 7.8

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

In this sequence, the trainer explains that he has adapted a role-play about robberies that was written by the Training Design and Research Unit at Hendon because the inclusion of investigative considerations such as the setting up of a road block (referred to by the police as a "road check") had little bearing on his experience in dealing with allegations of robbery. Taken together with sequence 7.4, above, it might be reasonable to suggest that the potential consequences of this might be a lack of relevance would give rise to a lack of student involvement. This in turn might have failed to motivate the students or stimulate their imagination. In these circumstances, it is, perhaps, not surprising that the trainer substituted a consideration of identification procedures for something more likely to occur in instances of robbery in his experience. This then might be taken as an instance in which the general concept of verisimilitude is used to adapt a story so as to make it appropriate to the purposes for which it is used. This analysis tends to support Gerrig's (1994) criticism of Baumeister and Newman's (1994) claims about the distinction between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought (as outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis).

In other cases, comment was made to the students in the classroom on aspects of role-plays that the trainers considered as having little relationship to their experience of events in the work place:

1. Trainer you can't both go in there
2. and sort of fight you've got to
3. decide your roles before you go
4. in/ before you went in did you
5. actually discuss it?

6. Student No it just became apparent

7. Trainer It just became apparent as you
8. went on?

9. Student Yeah I think it was a thing we
10. were told not to discuss when
11. we were at Hendon to make it
12. more realistic

13. Trainer Right was that purely for role-
14. play or what?

15. Student Do you mean the don't discuss

16. anything?
17. Trainer Yeah
18. Student Yeah to make it as realistic as
19. possible
20. Trainer But realistically would you
21. discuss anything?
22. Student Yeah if you knew you were going
23. to report a burglary
24. Trainer Yeah I would.....

Sequence 7.9

Extract from "Echo 1" class

This sequence took place during the debriefing stage of a role-play in which two officers had attended the scene of a burglary. When asked by the trainer about the practice of officers not negotiating their respective roles prior to going to report such an incident (lines 4 to 8), a student claims that the trainers suggested such a practice was "more realistic" during their initial recruit training at Hendon (lines 9 to 12). When confronted with this version of what is "realistic", the trainer challenges it

10. the child and a police officer to go and report it/ and to
11. me that's just apart from the fact that it's totally fraught
12. with failure erm and emotions and experience and
13. background it's just it's just something that hey wont
14. deal with it's totally new to them and it's just not
15. realistic to me anyway and they've told me so I've had
16. many a discussion with them about it and in that area
17. I've dismissed it because it's just not on/ it's not
18. something I'd do or ask my fellow trainers to do

19. Researcher When you say "them" do you mean the debriefing that
20. you've given to the people who wrote the [

[

21. Trainer [Yeah the
22. T.D.R.U./ they've told me that apparently a local
23. trainer suggested it in this forum where they put all the
24. work together where they themed it and put all the
25. suggested methods together erm they tell me that a
26. local training unit undisclosed but a local training unit
27. are using it suggested it and found it highly useful erm
28. but they did put the counter into it that it's only if you're
29. happy with it erm and I I mean to me I'm probably
30. going off the point now but to me you don't know what
31. experiences these people have had erm and I could
32. be asking someone who has been abused as a child

33. to erm be standing up there and role-playing a
34. sexually abused child and I mean that's just far too
35. deep for my probationer training syllabus erm I think I
36. could open up a hornet's nest that I wouldn't be able
37. or qualified to deal with erm so that's why I've
38. dismissed it

Sequence 7.10

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that a role-play about an instance in which a police officer is called upon to report an allegation of child abuse is well beyond the experience of the students. She then goes on to indicate that the role-play could, never-the-less, give rise to a great deal of emotional involvement on the part of the students. This then represents an ideological dilemma for the trainer. On one hand, role-plays can be used as a means of facilitating student involvement in a lesson. Such a method is, therefore, consistent with the ideology of student involvement operating in this setting. On the other hand, role-plays can involve students emotionally in the lesson to the extent that the trainer might lose control of the process. Under these circumstances it is, perhaps, not surprising that trainers deploy the kind of controls discussed in the next section and in the chapters that follow. It is in this way that the dilemmatic themes of individual freedom and social control

operating in the "common sense" of wider society (Billig et al, 1988) are played out in this setting.

While sequence 7.10, above, suggests that the relationship between verisimilitude in a role-play and the involvement of the students' in it is not a simple one, it should be noted that the child abuse lesson was the only one of which the trainers expressed this type of concern. The emotive nature of the topic itself is seen as having the potential to involve the students to a degree likely to take the events in the classroom beyond the control of the trainer. Such a potential is likely to be accentuated in the event of a student having previously been the victim of child abuse. This sequence (and sequence 7.12 below) suggest that a rather narrow definition of verisimilitude is being used in this setting. Such a definition seems to exclude the affective aspects of work-place reality, focusing instead on cognitive task-orientated processes. As has been suggested in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the focus on the cognitive aspects of experience arises from the objectives set out in the curriculum and wider police cultural influences. In these circumstances, it seems that the subject matter of a role-play can be seen both as failing to meet the criterion of verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting and as being likely to give rise to a sense of life-likeness beyond the control of the trainer.

The idea that the kind of role-plays that are used should be limited to events likely to occur in the students' work place is associated not only

with the verisimilitude of the story but also with a more general constructionist view of the need to move from the known to the unknown when learning:

1. Trainer Erm again it has its uses and it has uses in a practical
2. realistic situation erm to give somebody a role-play on
3. completely new material I think is unfair because it's
4. not something that they're used to dealing with you're
5. really challenging them erm/ yeah to me I would go
6. with it more for something where you're trying to
7. increase their knowledge from something they already
8. know about rather than to actually give them a
9. completely new subject that they possibly haven't had
10. any knowledge of before and then say "Right there
11. you are deal with it" erm/ some would say as police
12. officers that you should be able to do that anyway but
13. well yes you can but you wouldn't do it with the entire
14. world standing on criticising erm/ it's a false type of
15. environment in a way

Sequence 7.11

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that a role-play should develop material that is familiar to the student. From this point of view, the use of

role-plays embracing material that is unfamiliar to the students is not only fails to meet the criterion of verisimilitude but is also inconsistent with a constructionist view of learning. Such a lack of familiarity with events in the world of work outside the classroom was also seen as a problem by some of the trainers featured in Fielding's (1988) study of the recruit phase of probationer training in Derbyshire because the students:

‘.... don't really know what they're doing yet and (are) acting out situations when they don't know the context.’ (Fielding, 1988 p.73).

It seems then that some trainers adopt a constructionist view in suggesting that role-plays are most effective when they are used as means of helping the students to move from what they already know to what they should know. The use of the role-play as with other stories may, in these circumstances, be seen as a means of structuring the passage of some students through zones of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978).

Role-Plays: Control

The use role-plays that do not fall within the range of verisimilitude for this kind of story in this setting is seen as having the potential to create a situation in which the trainer might lose control of events in the classroom. The principal threat here is perceived as being one in which

the students might irretrievably deviate from the prescribed script of the role-play:

1.so role-plays in themselves I see as
2. you know well again a bit like some of the things that
3. I've said about theming they actually detract from the
4. message and there's a good chance that if you're
5. talking about just allowing people to act as they find
6. which is a sort of true role-play isn't it that you know
7. the point'll be missed completely I mean at my early
8. stages of training I actually tried to do this and it just
9. completely didn't work I mean in the station officer
10. scenarios trying to get people to play individuals of a
11. certain type and how they got dealt with and as far as
12. I was concerned after they'd finished I just thought it
13. was a waste of time erm/ you might as well get them
14. to deal with factual situations you know based on
15. what they're going to have to deal with so at least
16. they're dealing with well at least they're learning what
17. they have to do rather than some sort of touchy feely
18. kind of thing

Sequence 7.12

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

In this extract, as in sequence 7.12 above, the concern of the trainer is that unless the students are role-playing something that is firmly grounded in their work-place experience, the emotional element of the role-play is likely to go beyond the control of the trainer to the point that the objectives for the lesson are not met.

Trainers seek to tackle the issue of control in two ways. The first way in which this is done is by either rejecting, adapting or qualifying centrally written role-plays that fail to fall within the range for verisimilitude considered appropriate in this context (as is suggested, for example, in sequences 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10 above). The second way in which trainers seek to control role-plays is by influencing the course of the role-play itself. This takes place during all three stages of the role-play. The trainer influences events in the introduction stage by setting the scene for the role-play. Setting the scene for a role-play may be confined to a verbal introduction and briefing. An example of this may be found in sequence 7.1 above.

The importance of verbally introducing role-plays was emphasised by one of the trainers interviewed for the purposes of this research:

1. TrainerI think that role-plays are very good but I
2. think it's got to be erm/ introduced in the right way
3. people have got to be briefed.....

Sequence 7.13

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Setting the scene sometimes includes arranging the physical setting in which the role-play is to take place as well as a verbal introduction. For example, in one of the classes observed, the trainers carefully set up a room to resemble the scene of a crime prior to a role-play taking place about reporting domestic burglary. This included attention to such detail as the spilling of some talcum powder and the making of a foot print in it.

The second way in which trainers control role-plays is by influencing the course of events during the activity stage. This is done by the use of trainers as role actors. All the role-plays that were observed for the purposes of this research included at least one trainer in their cast. In these circumstances, the trainer was in a position to influence events so that particular learning points could be brought out for later discussion when the role-play was de-briefed. An example of this is set out below:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| 1. | Trainer | Can I go to the toilet? | Students |
| | (R.M.) | | (A.M.) |

- and (G.H.)
move over to
the television
and start to
search the
cabinet under
it.
2. Student Wait until we've searched
(G.H.)

Sequence 7.14

Extract from "Purple 3" Class

This sequence took place during a role-play in which one of the trainers had adopted the role of a man who had been arrested and detained at his address while a team of officers was searching it under the authority of a search warrant. In this extract the trainer asks if he can go to the toilet during the course of the search. Events like this might pose a dilemma for officers searching premises. On the one hand it is unreasonable for the police to keep a person arrested by them in a greater state of discomfort than is absolutely necessary. On the other hand, allowing a detained person to go to the toilet might put him or her in a better position to effect an escape or to allege that evidence has been fabricated against them in their absence. By asking to go to the toilet, the trainer is able to put this particular point on the agenda for discussion during the subsequent debriefing stage:

1. Trainer What about "I want to go for a
2. (K.P.) piss/ **I want to go for a piss/** look
3. I want to sit down"/ is that a
4. **reasonable** request?
5. Student Yeah
6. Trainer Yeah (.....) officer safety and
7. (K.P.) also evidence

Sequence 7.15

Extract from "Purple 3" Class

While it may be the case that a student acting the part of a detained person in this role-play could have been briefed to ask to go to the lavatory, the potential problems of a student not being able to remember the large number of points to be brought out by the person acting this role and the propensity that role-plays have to "detract from the message" by "allowing people to act as they find" (sequence 7.12 above) might be mitigated by the trainer taking a greater control over events by actively participating in the script.

Finally, trainers influence the de-briefing stage of the role-play in two ways. First, as is suggested above, all de-briefing stages follow the same trainer-controlled sequence of events involving feedback from the students followed by a commentary on that feedback from the trainer.

Second, students observing role-plays are sometimes given specific aspects of the activity to look at and subsequently comment on by the trainer (for example, as is suggested in sequence 7.3, above).

Summary

Role-plays may be said to consist of three distinct stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing. The introduction may be either long or short and, in some instances, includes modelling of the kind of behaviour favoured by the trainer. The activity stage may involve single or multiple student role-players. The de-briefing stage involves an invariant pattern of events consisting of elicited student feedback and trainer commentary.

In terms of function, role-plays may be linked to the prevailing student-centred training ideology in this setting because they are seen as one means of encouraging greater student involvement. Role-plays having a close relationship with events likely to be encountered by the students in their work place are thought more likely to be successful in terms of involvement. This is particularly true in the case of role-plays located in the larger narrative framework of the story-themes that have a close relationship with events likely to be encountered by the students in their work place. Student involvement is seen as being consistent with the student centred ideology prevailing in this setting and may well have consequences in terms of motivation and the use of the imagination.

Verisimilitude acts as a constraint on the kind of role-plays used in this setting, role-plays advocated by those charged with writing the centrally prescribed syllabus that do not conform to it are either rejected, adapted or qualified by the trainers.

The relationship between verisimilitude and involvement is by no means a simple one as is suggested by a consideration of the role-plays advocated for the final probationer attendance at the local training centre. In this attendance the subject matter, child abuse, is thought of as lacking verisimilitude and yet being likely to emotionally involve the students in the lesson to such an extent that events in the classroom might get well beyond the control of the trainer. It seems that subject matter having emotive connotations in wider society may exert an influence on involvement beyond the limited definition of verisimilitude operating in this setting because it may bring a reality from outside the working experience of the students into the classroom.

The broader notion of giving the students the opportunity to “act as they find” (sequence 7.12, above) is also seen as being likely to give rise to a situation in which events in the classroom may get beyond the control of the trainer. Such events are thought likely to “detract from the message” of the lesson. In these circumstances, the concern is that the role-play will not have a strong enough relationship with events likely to be experienced by the students in their work place.

In this sense, the issue of trainer control is inextricably linked with the working definition of verisimilitude used in this setting. Trainer control is threatened when there is a possibility that realities falling outside this definition will be brought into the classroom.

Trainers seek to maintain control of role-plays in two ways. First, the trainers apply their definition of verisimilitude to the role-play to assess whether it has a relationship with what the students are likely to experience in the work place. Those failing to fulfil this criterion are rejected, adapted or qualified. Second, trainers are involved in influencing events at all three stages of the role-play from setting the scene verbally and physically in the introduction to participating as actors in the activity to carefully structuring the debriefing.

Case Studies

Introduction

Danny works in a local garage. One evening he takes a set of car keys from the garage belonging to a vehicle being serviced. Later that evening, Danny gives the keys to his brother Jason. Jason knows that the car is not Danny's and he takes the car from the garage forecourt. He then picks up his friend Julie from her house. Jason tells her that the car is Danny's and that he has borrowed it with Danny's permission.

Discuss what offences appear to have been committed. Give reasons for your answers.

Extract 8.1

Case study from "Trainer's Notes" to Phase 1 Probationer Attendance 4

This chapter sets out to explore the use of case studies in this setting. As suggested in Chapter 5 of this thesis, case studies, along with role-plays, form a significant proportion of the methods advocated in the trainers' notes for each probationer attendance.

As in the case of role-plays, the Training Design and Research Unit not only advocate the use of case studies but also provide the material necessary to conduct them in the trainers' notes, extract 8.1 above is an example of this.

Case Studies: Form

Like role-plays, case studies take place over three stages: introduction, activity and debriefing. In the introduction stage, the trainer introduces the topic. Introductions consist of two parts. First, the trainer gives the students a lengthy account of the topic forming the substance of the lesson, for example:

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| 1. | Trainer | O.K. if you want to finish off your |
| 2. | (N.W.) | evaluations later/ this morning we're |
| 3. | | going to be looking at firearms erm |
| 4. | | we'll just quickly run through the little |
| 5. | | bits and bobs like definitions and the |
| 6. | | kind of thing that you said yesterday |

7. you wanted to go over and then I've
 8. got some case studies for you to look
 9. at erm which go into the legislation a
 10. bit more erm they are everyday
 11. occurrences erm everyday incidents
 12. that have happened/ there's five of
 13. them and they're all they're all real
 14. incidents they're not necessarily true
 15. but they were written around real
 16. incidents erm so that's what's
 17. happening this morning erm/ you
 18. might have noticed this fancy machine
 19. here of course erm and it erm and Trainer (N.W.)
 20. I'm trying something completely points to
 21. different today so if it doesn't go computer that
 22. quite according to plan could you bear is connected
 23. with me?/ And that what we're doing/ to an over
 24. all right?/ Firearms/ erm what's the head projector
 25. definition of a firearm? (OHP).

26. Student A lethal barrelled weapon from which
 27. (C.R.) a shot or bullet may be fired or a
 28. missile can be discharged (...)

29. Trainer A lethal barrelled weapon from which

30. (N.W.) any shot bullet or missile can be
31. discharged and what does it include?.....

Sequence 8.1

Extract from "Brown 5" Class

This sequence took place as part of the introduction to a lesson on the legislation surrounding firearms. After introducing the lesson (lines 1 to 9), the trainer tells the students that the lesson will include the use of case studies. He takes care when doing this to suggest that the events reported in these case studies are "everyday incidents that have happened" (lines 11 to 12) and that they are "real" (lines 12 and 15). Suggestions such as these serve to orient the participants towards verisimilitude in this setting. In orienting the participants towards verisimilitude, these suggestions convey the impression that the case study is relevant to the students' experience in the work place. In so doing, they imply that the point of using the case study is that the situation described is relevant to students' performance in the work place. In Labov's (1972) terms, it might be said that suggestions such as these serve as a means of "evaluation". The trainer moves on to discuss the definition of a firearm (lines 24 to 31) and considers of a number of other definitions appearing in firearms' legislation (after this extract), before concluding with the second and much shorter element of the introduction stage:

1. Trainer O.K. right I've got some case studies
 2. (N.W.) for you/ there are five of them and I'm
 3. going to split you into pairs to do this
 4. so perhaps Martin and Colin and then
 5. we'll need a three// Right now I'll ask Trainer (N.W.)
 6. you to look at the scenarios erm often hands out the
 7. that ask you what offences may have case studies.
 8. been committed erm you might want
 9. to refer to your white notes there are
 10. some other reference material
 11. available to you over here erm one of Trainer (N.W.)
 12. them is called "Weapon's Law" it's points to desk
 13. quite big and goes into case history by window
 14. as well erm Butterworths if you want with books on
 15. them erm I don't mind where you go it.
 16. it's completely erm they might take
 17. you a fair while because some of them
 18. are quite detailed and I want you to
 19. look at the legislation so that when we
 20. come back we can go through the
 21. points to prove and find out where the
 22. offences are so erm there you go use
 23. the reference material grab a cup of

24. tea while you're doing it

Sequence 8.2

Extract from "Brown 5" Class

This second part of an introduction to a case study consists of the administrative directions from the trainer governing the conduct of the exercise. The students are asked to form small groups and then research a series of case studies using support material from their pre-reading material and other more general sources with a view to establishing which criminal offences appear to have been committed in them.

The activity stage of case studies in this setting consists of the students taking the case studies away in small groups and researching the questions asked of them. They do this with a view to providing an answer during the de-briefing stage that follows. A typical example of such a case study is set out below:

You stop a young woman and decide to search her. In her hand you find a small lemon jiff bottle with the hole enlarged. The bottle is empty but she admits that it did contain ammonia which she carried in self defence. You also find in her pocket a live 303 bullet which she says was given by a friend so she could make it into a pendant for a necklace.

What are you going to do?

Extract 8.2

Case Study from “Red 5” and “Brown 5” Classes

This case study was one of five presented to the students during the lessons about firearms’ legislation. In this example, the students are presented with a story about a woman being stopped by the police while she is in possession of two articles that might come within the scope of this legislation. The question “what are you going to do?” is one that is commonly used in case studies in this setting. As a result, many case studies might be coded as “orientation” using Labov’s (1972) analytic scheme (like the story-theme set out in extract 6.1 on pages 130 and 131). In this sense, the situation contained in the case study acts as the starting point for classroom talk concerning how the matter is to be dealt with. Since case studies as set out in extract 8.2 do not specify a result for the “complicating actions” contained in them, they would not be regarded as “fully-formed” or “complete” by Labov’s standards. As in the case of story themes, the designation of case studies like the one set out in extract 8.2 as instances of “orientation” rather than “minimal narratives” depends on how they are used.

In some case studies, more specific questions asking the students to identify an offence or police power are framed, for example:

You are driving a police car along the road when you see that a vehicle in front of you is being driven erratically and the driver is leaning out shouting at the vehicle in front of him. He is also waving something out of the window which has the appearance of a handgun. As the two vehicles stop at the road junction the man fakes as if to shoot the other driver. You stop the vehicle further down the road.

What is your power of search?

What offences are apparent?

Extract 8.3

Case Study from “Red 5” and “Brown 5” Classes

Whether or not case studies ending with specific questions such as these can be regarded as falling into Labov’s (1972) “orientation” code is a matter of debate. On the one hand, it might be argued that they do not because the end of the case study does not explicitly indicate that the students should resolve the situation; it suggests that they limit their activities to interpreting it. In these circumstances, the case study might be regarded as a “minimal narrative” (or, possibly, an “abstract” depending on who the storyteller is considered to be and the extent to which the case study is elaborated on). Alternatively, it could be argued that interpreting the situation featured in such case studies implies some

resolution of it. Some evidence of this might be found in the extract of classroom talk set out below:

1. Student It's not an off weap or anything it
2. (M.T.) could be a handgun so it's going
3. to have to be a search under
4. the [
[
5. Student [Yeah but it's still an offensive
6. (P.R.) weapon isn't it?
7. Student Yeah but that doesn't matter it's a
8. (M.T.) firearm if you suspect a person of
9. having a firearm in a public place
10. you can search him or the vehicle
11. in a public place
12. Student Yeah but I'm just saying that you
13. (P.R.) could stretch section one you've
14. got it there but I know what you're
15. saying but you could stretch
16. section one couldn't you?
17. Student You don't need to because you've

18. (M.T.) got the act you've got the power
19. there [
- [
20. Student [Yeah I know you don't need
21. (P.R.) to, but it's another power isn't it?

Sequence 8.3

Extract from "Red 5" Class

This sequence took place during one of the lessons about firearms' legislation. The students were tasked with answering the questions shown in extract 8.3, above.

The first student (M.T.) begins to suggest that police only have the power to search somebody under firearms' legislation. The second student (P.R.) challenges this by promoting his view that the "handgun" featured in the case study could be regarded as falling within the much broader category of "offensive weapon". The sequence concludes with some acceptance on the part of M.T. that the police might be able to conduct a search under the authority of a power outside firearms' legislation and an acceptance on the part of P.R. that resorting to such a power is unlikely to be necessary. Sequences such as these contain some elements of exploratory talk in the sense that the participants engage constructively and critically with each other's ideas (Mercer, 1995).

This analysis seems to indicate that the students were negotiating an answer to this case study based on what they were likely to do rather than limiting their activity to the way the situation should be interpreted. From this perspective, it might be argued that the context of the case study set out in extract 8.3 above is such that it could be coded as an instance of “orientation” using Labov’s (1972) scheme.

However, to code extract 8.3 exclusively as an instance of “orientation” might give rise to a situation in which it was disqualified from being categorised as an instance of “narrative” in the first place. This may be so because the talk in sequence 8.3 seems to focus primarily on the resolution of the situation and contains little in the way of “complicating actions”. In order to be categorised as an instance of “narrative” by Labov’s standards, some aspects of extract 8.3 would need to be coded as “complicating actions”. Such coding is not entirely inconsistent with Labov’s analysis because he acknowledges that “orientation” can consist of narrative clauses, even though it is usually composed of free clauses (clauses with no temporal junctures) in his data (Labov, 1972 p. 364). In these circumstances, the code “complicating action” can be regarded as falling into a different layer of analysis to that of “orientation”. This layer of analysis seems to be a very broad descriptive one in which almost everything in the narrative that contains a temporal juncture is categorised as a “narrative clause” or a “complicating action”. The broad nature of this code gives rise to a situation in which much of the narrative

that is categorised as “complicating action” effectively remains unanalysed (Edwards, 1997).

“Orientation” operates at a functional rather than descriptive layer of analysis because it relates to the referential function of clauses so coded (Labov, 1972 p.370). The difference in these layers of analysis explains *in part* why it is possible to apply alternative codes to some aspects of narrative using Labov’s scheme. For example, extract 8.3 might be coded along the following lines:

You are driving a police car along the road when you see that a vehicle in front of you is being driven erratically and the driver is leaning out shouting at the vehicle in front of him. He is also waving something out of the window which has the appearance of a handgun. **O** As the two vehicles stop at the road junction the man fakes as if to shoot the other driver. **CA**

You stop the vehicle further down the road. **E**

Key to Analysis

O = Orientation

CA = Complicating Action

E = Evaluation

This analysis might be used to demonstrate the problems that can arise when Labov’s scheme is treated as operating at a single layer of

analysis. In these circumstances, alternative codes might have been applied to this case study. For instance, where “orientation” ends and where “complicating action” begins is by no means certain. An example of this can be found in the clauses “when you see that a vehicle in front of you is being driven erratically and the driver is leaning out shouting at the vehicle in front of him. He is also waving something out of the window which has the appearance of a handgun”. Here, it might be argued that these clauses are as much “complicating actions” as they are part of the “orientation”.

A difference in layers of analysis cannot explain why alternative coding might be used in respect of categories that appear to operate at a similar layer. In these circumstances the use of alternative codes may be influenced by the different ways in which analysts construe what the participants are orientating themselves to. This issue is in itself related to the point of telling the story; the “evaluation”.

However sound these codes may be, it could be argued that their use in this research is unsatisfactory on two grounds. First, the generality of these codes seems to detract from some of the details in the way stories are used in this setting. An example of this may be found in sequence 8.3 above where to simply code this sequence of talk as the “result” of the story set out in extract 8.3 would fail to take account of the detailed negotiation that goes on between the students. Secondly, it might be argued that imposing Labov’s codes on the data in this way amounts

placing the story's contents into "a set of pre-coded analytic slots " (Edwards, 1997 p.276). Such an approach is wholly inconsistent with the inductive direction this research has tried to take.

The debriefing stage of case studies follows an invariable sequence of each pair or small group of students taking turns to answer the question(s) posed at the end of one of the case studies in the set. The trainer then elicits further information about this answer:

1.

Trainer

O.K. what have we got for erm/
2.

(N.W.)

question one?// What have you
3.

got? What are you going to do?
4.

Student

Section 17 power of entry
5.

Trainer

Right hang on so you're going to
6.

(N.W.)

knock at the door/ yeah and then
7.

what?
- Trainer (N.W.) starts to write on the white board.
8.

Student

And then we're going to see if
9.

he answers the door
10.

Trainer

Right and if he doesn't?
- (N.W.)

11. Student Then section seventeen
12. Trainer Section seventeen? For what
13. (N.W.) offence?
14. Student 1 Life and limb [
[
15. Student 2 [Arrest for an
16. arrestable offence

Sequence 8.4

Extract from "Red 5" Class

Having elicited sufficient detail from the students whose turn it is to provide the principal answer to the questions posed in the case study, the trainer moves on to invite the remaining students in the class to comment on it:

1. Trainer O.K. any others different from
2. (N.W.) that?/ Has anyone got anything
3. different to that?
4. Student (.....) it could be something

5. more sinister

Sequence 8.5

Extract from "Red 5" Class

Sometimes, the trainer elaborates on the story in the case study during the debriefing stage:

1. Trainer O.K. I'll come to that in a minute/
2. (N.W.) I'm going to challenge this to start
3. with I'm going to say what evidence
4. have you got for section sixteen?
5. What is section sixteen to start with?
6. Student Possession of a firearm with intent
7. to endanger life or to enable another
8. to do so [
9. Trainer [Right [
10. (N.W.) [
11. Student [(.....) [
12. Trainer [No/
13. (N.W.) do we have do you have

13. reasonable grounds to suspect a
14. section sixteen offence is being
15. committed?

16. Student Well someone's been firing some
17. sort of weapon at people

18. Trainer Yes?
(N.W.)

19. Student That's good enough isn't it?

20. Trainer I'll add a bit more to the scenario
21. (N.W.) for you erm that'll tell you that you
22. are standing there and the person
23. is erm these are workman that are
24. being fired at they're on the
25. pavement they can see the person
26. firing out of the window and the
27. pellets are landing about ten yards
28. short/ they know that unless they
29. walk ten yards they are not going
30. to get hurt and even at that range
31. they unlikely or are likely to cause

32. very little injury I would suggest

Sequence 8.6

Extract from "Red 5" Class

In this sequence, the trainer endeavours to challenge the answer originally given by some of the students. When the students continue to promote their answer in the face of this challenge the trainer extends the story in the case study to further negate it. The issue of control of case studies is taken up in the next section of this chapter.

In summary, case studies may be regarded as following a pattern of introduction, activity and debriefing. The introduction stage consists of a lengthy period of talk by the trainer focusing on the subject matter of the case study followed by a shorter sequence concerning the administration of the activity. The activity stage consists of the students negotiating an answer to the question(s) framed in the case study and the debriefing stage progresses through a sequence of elicitation, clarification and, sometimes, challenge by the trainer.

Case Studies: Function and Constraint

This section sets out to explore the three related issues of realism, imagery and control. Realism is taken to refer to the extent to which a

case study conforms to the students' work-place experience. Imagery relates to the idea that case studies (as with other forms of narrative) have the potential to evoke mental images in the mind of the audience. Control refers to the concerns that trainers have that events in the classroom will go beyond their ability to influence them.

As with all the other types of narrative reported in this thesis, trainers were of the view that case studies should have a strong relationship to events likely to occur outside the classroom in the work place of the students, for example:

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| 1. | Researcher | I mean how would you see the idea of these sort |
| 2. | | of stories fitting in with their learning? |
| 3. | Trainer | Again because it makes it practical and relevant |
| 4. | | they can look at a set of case studies and think |
| 5. | | "Yeah this could happen/ this is practical it is |
| 6. | | relevant" erm "If I was given this set of |
| 7. | | circumstances what would I do?" and hopefully |
| 8. | | having discussed the issues erm in the feedback |
| 9. | | if that then does actually happen they can then |
| 10. | | relate it directly back to what was discussed and |
| 11. | | the appropriate action they should take so it is |

12. relevant and it is practical

Sequence 8.7

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

In this sequence, the trainer places considerable value on introducing work-place practice and relevance into the classroom. In a general sense, "relevance" refers to work-place events outside the classroom. In a more particular sense, it focuses on the cognitive and task orientated elements of those events. As noted in Chapter 4 of this thesis, such a focus may stem from the objectives set out in the curriculum and wider police cultural influences. This influences the way verisimilitude is defined in this context by limiting it to those cognitive and task orientated events likely to be experienced by the students in the work place outside the classroom. Two effects arise from this. First, trainers draw on their own experience in constructing case studies for their use:

1. TrainerI'd be very surprised if instructors
2. didn't draw on their own personal experience or
3. anecdotal experiences to assist them in writing
4. scenarios

Sequence 8.8

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

Second, they are disparaging of case studies failing to adequately conform to this constraint:

1. Trainer his case studies were always a bit of a laugh
2. because they would stretch the point of credibility I
3. mean he had one on diplomatic immunity and he
4. wanted to incorporate into it immigration drugs
5. firearms and off weaps and so he had a stop of a
6. Libyan national who was high on drugs had cocaine
7. sticking out of his pocket a flick knife in his other
8. pocket and a gun and so you know this was all in
9. one case study and I think that that would go too far
10. people would say "This is just ridiculous" you know
11. "This just isn't going to happen".....

Sequence 8.9

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that case studies that have a poor relationship with events likely to happen in the work place are seen as failing to have a practical application. The way in which the trainer lists each occurrence with no intervening events (lines 6 to 8) and goes on to formulate them as being "all in one case study" (line 8 and 9) presents the case study referred to as going "too far" (line 9). This amounts to an example of how not to do verisimilitude in this setting. In these particular

circumstances, far from motivating the students to learn, the case study referred to may have actually de-motivated them (lines 9 to 11).

Having said that trainers perceived a need for case studies to have a strong relationship with work-place experience, the strength of that association was not seen as needing to be quite so strong as it was in respect of themes or role-plays:

1. Trainer I think that you can stray a bit more
2. on case studies because I think people will accept
3. that they're there to bring out a point but you do get
4. you know the case study that starts going
5. horrendously incredulous but sort of to bring out a
6. point we'll stretch it the "what ifs" erm/ so I do like
7. them and I think that you can push them slightly
8. further than the role-plays erm and they're good
9. erm they're quick you can get through an awful lot
10. of information in a short period of time.....

Sequence 8.10

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The trainer featured in this extract is the same as in extract 8.9, above. His opening comment in extract 8.10, "I think that you can stray a bit more on case studies" (lines 1 and 2) and his closing comment, "you can

get through an awful lot of information in a short period of time" (lines 9 and 10) suggests some consistency in his view that the use of stories consisting of too many occurrences amounts to a departure from verisimilitude. As in sequence 8.9, this point of view suggests that doing verisimilitude in this setting includes not putting too many occurrences in a single story. However, on this occasion the trainer's comments do not present de-motivation as a consequence of this tactic when he suggests that "people will accept that they're there to bring out a point" (lines 2 and 3).

Such deviation from the general rule demanding a high level of consistency between classroom events and the work place outside the classroom may be explicable in terms of the amount of investment demanded by the different types of narrative. Specifically, role-plays are seen as having considerable potential to draw on the emotional resources of the students:

1. Trainer it becomes far harder to immediately pluck
2. people out and just make them role-play so "Right
3. there's a sheet you're a cab driver you're a
4. passenger now you're in a car and the whole class
5. just sits there watching" that is incredibly difficult
6. because they're always embarrassed and they don't

7. really like doing it

Sequence 8.11

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

Themes, were also seen as having the potential to draw on cognitive resources (in terms of attention):

- | | | |
|-----|------------|--|
| 1. | Researcher | So you can get away I suppose with a bit more in |
| 2. | | terms of their plausibility?/ Whether they're possible |
| 3. | | or not |
| 4. | Trainer | Yeah I think you can because people don't expect |
| 5. | | them to be as real so you can set up an incident |
| 6. | | that perhaps doesn't happen that often and they |
| 7. | | and I think that people accept them more but as |
| 8. | | soon as you start asking people over a long period |
| 9. | | of time to believe something or to role-play |
| 10. | | something that's where I think that plausibility |
| 11. | | comes in because you know "I wouldn't do this" that |
| 12. | | that's where plausibility comes in to it |

Sequence 8.12

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that the perceived demands on students are greater for themes and role-plays than for case studies. The result of this is that students are seen as being more willing to "suspend their disbelief" in case studies than they are in these other types of narrative:

1. Trainer I think you know short quick written ones
2. they'll accept because it's almost like a question it's
3. because you're asked to sort of suspend your
4. disbelief for a moment to think about it and I think
5. that people are willing to do that but then as soon
6. as it becomes too involved and it goes on then I
7. think that people become less willing to
8. contemplate it and say "Well this isn't really going to
9. happen" and we are asking people to suspend their
10. belief or their disbelief.....

Sequence 8.13

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract the trainer implies that in the event of a shorter case study, students might still be willing to suspend their disbelief and participate in the process, even if it has a weaker relationship with events in the work place. In this sense, the threshold for verisimilitude might be regarded as being lower for case studies (and for the short verbal accounts

considered in the next chapter of this thesis) than for longer stories demanding greater emotional and/or attentional resources.

Perhaps, the most obvious way in which the content of case studies departed from events in the work place was in terms of the density of occurrences reported in them:

1. Trainer the one thing that I'd say about the scenarios is
2. that obviously they pack a hell of a lot you know into
3. a sequence of events much like an episode of "The
4. Bill" whereas you know if you look at a tour of duty
5. you may have one or two things going on you know
6. but obviously they want to entertain in a T.V.
7. programme so you know lots of things are going on
8. that may occur once in every three or four months on
9. a real life division and so therefore I suppose that
10. scenarios are a bit like that in the fact that you get a
11. series of things that you want to impart and so
12. therefore yeah they're more action-packed than in
13. real life but that's the only way I'd say that they you
14. know depart from reality.....

Sequence 8.14

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

In this extract, the trainer compares the content of case studies (referred to as “scenarios”) with that of television programmes. These different types of narrative share the feature of being dense in terms of the events reported in them. The functions served by condensing “reality” in this way, differ between these types of narrative. The principal function served by this in the case of television programmes is one of entertainment, whereas the principal function served by this in case studies is the successful coverage of several lesson objectives in the single instance.

In addition to meeting the demands of the curriculum in this way, case studies, in common with the other forms of narrative reviewed in this thesis, are also thought to render abstract procedures and statute law more memorable by placing them into a concrete context:

1. TrainerI think it makes it easier to understand and to
2. organise what's going on by putting a story to it rather
3. than consistently saying "Well when so-and-so comes
4. in to report/ when you have a victim to report the next
5. thing that will need to be done will be" you're not
6. individualising you're not making the person think
7. about themselves dealing with that and you could just
8. give them that on a bit of paper erm procedures that
9. must be followed erm but that's not likely to be
10. remembered I don't think whereas if you've got a

11. situation to actually put to it erm it helps you remember
12. or it helps me to remember anyway what we've been
13. covering
14. Researcher Do you think that actually a sort of concrete erm
15. situations better for memory recall you know learning
16. Trainer Yeah.....

Sequence 8.15

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In this extract, the trainer appears to suggest that case studies can benefit the student by making the general principles contained in them easier to organise and understand and, therefore, more memorable. Part of this process seems to relate to the idea of “making the person think about themselves dealing with” the topic, a process that might be enhanced by encouraging the students to imagine they are at the scene of the event reported in the case study. Such encouragement was usually given by writing the student into the story and then explicitly asking them what they would do in those circumstances as, for example, shown in extract 8.3, above.

Trainers consciously framed case studies in this way in the hope of facilitating the generation of mental images in the minds of the students:

1. TrainerI think you're asking them you're putting them
2. back saying "O.K. think about/ imagine you're there"
3. and all my scenarios finish with "What are you
4. going to do now?" that sort of open question and
5. people always answer it like that "Well we're going
6. to do this" and then you can develop it by saying
7. "Well why?" "What if?" erm so yeah they're very
8. effective.....

Sequence 8.16

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The idea that the facilitation of such imagery might favourably impact on the students' memory recall would appear to receive some support from experimental studies conducted by cognitive psychologists (for example, Paivio and Begg, 1971).

The potential impact of case studies on memory also had disadvantages. Even though case studies, like the other stories told in this setting, tend to focus on the cognitive and task orientated elements of an event, they are viewed by trainers as having the potential to access memories of painful experiences in the students' past. This is particularly true of case studies dealing with sensitive issues such as sexual offences:

1. Trainer I mean we have had problems with the sexual
2. offences one erm/ but we didn't use role-plays that

3. was through reading what you would call case studies
4. and dealing with the legislation in a classroom
5. situation/ you know we stirred up a few nests
6. there.....

Sequence 8.17

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In these circumstances, trainers recognised that problems might arise in respect of their control over the processes in the classroom:

1. Trainer Yes it certainly can no doubt about it it certainly could
2. yeah because you've got erm an adverse reaction
3. from somebody that's going to be going to need to be
4. dealt with you're going to have to find out why what's
5. going on for that person that individual and then
6. you've got your entire class of people who are
7. obviously aware that something's gone on who are
8. going to be concerned worried frustrated whatever
9. their reaction erm I would say that very few of them
10. would be totally disinterested I would say that none of
11. the students would be disinterested so it's going to
12. have to be dealt with and it's going to take away from

13. the rest of the class who will themselves be concerned

Sequence 8.18

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

The source of this potential problem is thought to be the nature of the underlying material forming the basis for the case study. Trainers seek to combat this threat in two ways. First, they take care in compiling a story based on a subject deemed to be “sensitive”, for example:

1. Trainerso it has to be very carefully thought about with
2. subjects where you're going to be using this sort of
3. material and if you're still going to use it how you're
4. going to prepare them for that you know the
5. implications of it/ you're getting people to think and
6. thinking brings back old memories or experiences
7. that's part of nature I think it's the way you learn.....

Sequence 8.19

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

Secondly the trainers include a warning in the introduction to lessons dealing with “sensitive” topics in which they propose to use case studies:

1. Trainerthey have been warned and if they still choose to

2. come into the class knowing what is going to be
3. dealt with then to a certain extent it's their choice
4. whether they come in/ whether they come in knowing
5. that we've got certain things that we need to cover erm

Sequence 8.20

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

The use of case studies in this way may stem from a view that they have an advantage over role-plays in that the students are actually less likely to become emotionally involved in them. This arises from the belief that the more involved a student becomes in a story, the greater the threat it poses to trainer control:

1. Researcher Do you think that it's a possibility that people sort of
2. get more into role-plays than case studies?
3. Trainer Yes oh yes definitely I think that that would be the
4. problem with the children's one/ possibly even if you
5. were to use that with the sexual offences one because
6. that has been suggested and dismissed by me erm/
7. because yes they do get more into erm the emotions
8. attached the experience attached they think more
9. especially if you're being asked to play a victim in
10. order to make a more realistic victim you have to start

11. almost putting them in that situation erm to make it
12. more realistic for the officer whose dealing with it and
13. that again I'd question whether we need to go that far/
14. maybe we do I don't know

Sequence 8.21

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

The possibility that students may become more involved in role-plays than in case studies may be reflected in the higher threshold for verisimilitude used in role-plays. As has been discussed, such a threshold may stem from the increased demands placed on emotional commitment in role-plays. This gives rise to a situation in which verisimilitude is high in role-plays because of increased emotional demand and increased emotional demand raises the general level of verisimilitude.

The increased emotional demand on the students in role-plays gives rise to an ideological dilemma. As has been suggested in Chapter 4 of this thesis, trainers favour an approach in which student involvement figures highly. At the same time as this, trainers are more wary of techniques that give rise to greater emotional involvement on the part of the students since such involvement raises the spectre of a loss of trainer control.

However, the more limited involvement of students in case studies has some problems. That individual students feel less threatened by the critical assessment of the trainer and their peers can give rise to different problems of control:

1. Trainerlimitations yes there are limitations because
2. invariably you're going to be handing out scenarios
3. to groups erm there may be three or four groups
4. within the classroom and it's apparent in my
5. experience that not all students pull their weight
6. within the group erm how do we ensure that they
7. are paying sufficient attention within that group how
8. do we ensure that they are erm whereas if you're
9. teaching out from erm front loading as it were erm/
10. you might have more control over their
11. attentiveness erm as opposed to when you send
12. them off for half an hour in their groups erm and
13. you might find that within those groups some
14. people might work harder than others some people
15. don't work at all that is possibly a limitation to doing
16. case studies

Sequence 8.22

Extract from interview with trainer B.B.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that the use of case studies in small group exercises give rise to a lack of control over the students' attentiveness. Trainers were well aware of this problem and sought to tackle it in a number of ways:

1. Trainer so I wanted to give them some extra pieces of work
2. and when I actually got to each of the rooms that these
3. groups were in they were doing nothing of the work but
4. talking about what was on telly last night and I thought you
5. know I never actually stopped and realised that there's
6. obviously a lot into group work and I haven't been able to
7. find enough to read up on and there's obviously many
8. different aspects of group work that you know one as a
9. teacher or instructor ought to consider and I mean like
10. how many in a group that's obviously going to affect
11. whether they actually work or talk about the telly erm/ you
12. know whether the task is clearly understood you know
13. whether you give them perhaps too long you know "Well
14. we only need five minutes to we can talk for the first ten
15. minutes about the telly" and what they'll do is talk and you
16. know it's quite interesting

Sequence 8.23

Extract from interview with trainer S.H.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that control over group-work exercises can be maintained by careful consideration of the size of the groups, the clarity with which the task is explained and the time given for the task to be completed. All these measures can be deployed by the trainer during the administrative instructions given to the students at the end of the introduction stage. The idea here being one of influencing events during the activity stage of any small group exercise, including those in which case studies are a feature. Trainers seek to further influence events, and thus maintain control, during the debriefing stage of the case study. They do this in two ways, first by reformulating the answers given by the students to the case study:

1. Student 1 Well yeah you could argue that
2. he's trying to assault someone
3. again an offence against the
4. person

5. Student 2 Could be criminal damage as well

6. Trainer Is assault a schedule one offence?
 (N.W.)

7. Student 1 Yeah/ assault occasioning actual
8. bodily harm

9. Trainer So has he or is he committing a
10. (N.W.) schedule one offence
11. Student 1 Yeah it'd be attempted
12. Trainer Right but is he committing?
(N.W.)
13. Student 2 No do him for criminal damage
14. instead [
[
15. Student 3 [(.....)
16. Trainer Is he committing an assault?
(N.W.)
17. Student 3 Well he's not really
18. Trainer Not an A.B.H. is he? O.K. have you
19. (N.W.) done assaults this week?
20. Student 3 Yeah
21. Trainer This might connect with the very
22. (N.W.) broad definition of an assault/ you

23.		may commit an assault but it's	
24.		certainly won't be an A.B.H. so we	Trainer (N.W.)
25.		can cross that one off/ O.K. what	crosses "ABH"
26.		about criminal damage then?	through on the
			white board.
27.	Student 2	The air pellets [
		[
28.	Student 3	[(.....)	
29.	Trainer	You're going to nick someone right	
30.	(N.W.)	for criminal damage for a little bit of	
31.		air pellet in the pavement? I mean	Trainer (N.W.)
32.		come on I'm crossing those off	crosses
33.		because I feel there's a more	"criminal
34.		appropriate offence here because	damage"
35.		if they aren't actually committing the	through on the
36.		offence is there an offence that	white board
37.		deals with the intent to commit an	as the
38.		offence?	students
			laugh.

Sequence 8.24

Extract from "Red 5" Class

This sequence took place during the debriefing stage of a small-group case study exercise about firearm's legislation. In this part of the debriefing, the trainer recorded the answers to one of the case studies in schematic form on a white board. He then systematically reviewed the answers given, altering them where they did not seem appropriate to the question raised in the case study. In this extract, the trainer reviews two of the answers given by one of the groups: that the person featured in the case study committed the offences of assault and criminal damage. Having persuaded the student that an assault has not taken place, he crosses the term out on the white board. He then moves on to consider the offence of criminal damage. Here he takes a more unilateral decision in suggesting that the events reported in the case study would not be serious enough to warrant charging somebody with this offence. He goes on to cross the student's answer of "criminal damage" out as well before moving on to elicit an answer from the students that he considers to be more appropriate. Sequences of reconstructive feedback such as these may be a more general feature of classroom talk. In particular, they may have something in common with the reconstructive recapping sequences reported by Edwards and Mercer, 1987.

The second way in which trainers seek to maintain control during the debriefing stage of small-group exercises is by reformulating the stories contained in the case studies. One example of this is may be found in sequence 8.6, above, another is set out below:

1. Studentand you
 2. (C.R.) don't know what type of a gun it is
 3. what type of bullets they are so I'd
 4. say you'd have reasonable grounds

5. Trainer O.K. is it possible to endanger life
 6. (N.W.) with an air rifle?

7. Student Well yeah it can be if you're shot
 8. (C.R.) at [
 [

9. Student [(.....) if he's just taking pot
 10. shots out of the window he's got
 11. no real intent to kill someone
 12. (.....) [
 [

13. Student [Yeah but he's thirteen
 14. (C.R.) years old he's not responsible is
 15. he it's probably not wrong to him
 16. he doesn't realise [
 [

17. Student [(.....) [
 [

18. Student [But if

19. (C.R.) the public think that their life is

20. endanger because they're being
21. shot at (...) [
22. Trainer [O.K. I'm going to put
23. (N.W.) you out of your misery because in
24. this scenario as I say it was a real
25. one erm the gas men who were
26. working on the road were being
27. fired at from erm by this thirteen
28. year old from a window I would say
29. probably about erm it's difficult to
30. say in metres probably sixty seventy
31. metres away and the pellets erm they
32. could see him firing out the window
33. and hear that a firearm was being
34. fired but the pellets were landing
35. short you know it just wasn't
36. powerful enough so they were
37. landing short of their target

Sequence 8.25

Extract from "Brown 5" Class

This sequence also took place during the debriefing stage of a firearm's legislation lesson involving the use of case studies. In this extract,

following an answer from one of the students, the trainer initiates a discussion about the possibility of life being endangered the kind of use of an air weapon described in one of the case studies. The trainer then interrupts the exchange between the students that follows with an addition to the story along the lines of the actual event upon which it was based.

Summary

Case studies follow a pattern of introduction, activity and debriefing. The introduction stage consists of a lengthy period of talk by the trainer focusing on the subject matter of the case study followed by a shorter sequence concerning the administration of the activity. The activity stage consists of the students negotiating an answer to the question(s) framed in the case study and the debriefing stage progresses through a sequence of elicitation and clarification and, sometimes, challenge by the trainer.

Trainers are of the view that case studies should be relevant to the cognitive and task orientated elements of work-place events outside the classroom. Such a focus influences the way in which verisimilitude is defined in this setting. One of the functions served by introducing relevance into the classroom is to motivate the students to learn the

subject matter by encouraging them to value its performance applications.

Case studies adhere to the general canons of verisimilitude operating in this setting in that they have a fairly close relationship with events thought of as being likely to happen in the students' work-place. However, the standards operating in this respect are lower in relation to case studies than they are for stories demanding greater emotional and/or attentional resources. The most obvious way in which the content of case studies depart from "real" events is by featuring a higher density of occurrences than the trainers would normally expect in the work-place.

Case studies are thought to render abstract procedures and statute law easier to understand and organise in the students' memories by placing them into a concrete context. Part of this process is considered to involve the generation of mental images in the minds of the students. On one hand, this is considered to be an advantage because it makes lesson material more memorable. Trainers personalise case studies in the hope of facilitating this process. On the other hand, case studies are viewed by trainers as having the disadvantage of accessing memories of painful experiences in the students' past. This gives rise to concerns from the trainers about a potential loss of control in the classroom. Trainers seek to combat this threat in two ways. First, they take greater care in compiling a story based on a subject deemed to be "sensitive". Secondly

they include a warning to the students in the introduction to lessons dealing with “sensitive” topics in which they propose to use case studies.

The lower standard of verisimilitude to which case studies conform is seen as giving rise to less involvement on the part of the students. Less involvement is seen as an advantage in that there are less likely to be problems with control. This gives rise to a situation in which an ideology promoting student involvement is moderated by the perception that too much emotional involvement increases the risk of a break-down in trainer control.

The more limited involvement of students in case studies also has problems because students may deviate from the task set to them in circumstances where they feel less threatened by the critical assessment of the trainer and their peers. During the activity stage of the case study, trainers seek to combat this threat by carefully controlling the size of the groups, explaining the task clearly and allocating an appropriate amount of time given for the task to be completed. During the debriefing stage, they do this by reformulating the students answers and the stories contained in the case studies.

Anecdotes

Introduction

1. Trainer We need to be honest / the case / what
2. was it now the er/ Taylor sisters./ The
3. Doctor / a prime witness / in an earlier
4. statement / said that one of the suspects
5. was black and one of the suspects was
6. white / the two girls that end up getting
7. nicked are both white./ The fact that
8. he'd made that previous statement didn't
9. come out at court./ So great / yes if there
10. is a discrepancy or an error in what the
11. witness says / we're human / he's human /
12. put it in and let the jury decide / let
13. the judge sort it out. "I've been honest
14. with you, originally in the statement I
15. took from you you said this / now you're

16. saying that, what's happening?"/ Great /
17. so that's **ADVOKATE** / I'll give you a
18. handout on that / but those points need
19. to be covered when you're taking
20. statements from witnesses.

Sequence 9.1

Extract from "Charlie 1" Class

This chapter sets out to explore the use of anecdotes in this setting. Anecdotes are regarded as stories of events past. As suggested in Chapter 5, the use of anecdotes is quite extensive in that approximately 19% of the talk in the plenary sessions can be attributed to their telling.

Anecdotes: Form

Anecdotes may be personal, semi-personal or historical. Personal anecdotes are constructions of events that the teller claims to have participated in, for example:

1. Trainer rules of the game there will
2. be the application of force so that
3. wouldn't be unlawful/ at what stage
4. then would in a sporting game/ would

5. that force become **unlawful**?
6. Student (.....)
 (S.M.)
7. Trainer Sorry?
8. Student Where you break the rules
 (S.M.)
9. Trainer This happened to me in fact (....)
10. I was playing rugby and erm someone
11. tore my ear off
12. Student (.....)
 (L.M.)
13. Trainer Yeah/ stamped on me and erm so it's
14. got to be within the rules of the
15. game and reasonable/ you know
16. reasonable within the rules of the
17. game/ obviously clearly an act like
18. that you know just being stamped on
19. isn't within the rules of the game

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| 20. | Student (.....) | Students |
| | (S.M.) | laugh. |
| 21. | Trainer Have a guess which one it is then | |
| 22. | Student Left/ it's upside down | Trainer and |
| | (S.M.) | students |
| | | laugh. |
| 23. | Trainer Actually when the old plastic | |
| 24. | surgeon sewed it back on he didn't | |
| 25. | actually sew it back on at the right | Students |
| 26. | height/ so I go to the barbers and | laugh. |
| 27. | you see the old bloke cutting my | |
| 28. | hair and he does this and he looks | Trainer stands |
| 29. | and I say "No no don't worry about | up an imitates |
| 30. | it just do it from a distance" but | the |
| 31. | erm | movements |
| | | of a |
| | | hairdresser |
| | | looking either |
| 32. | Student It's a good job you don't wear | side at the |
| 33. | (S.M.) glasses now | back of |
| | | someone's |
| | | head - Trainer |
| 34. | Trainer Yeah so there we go/ yeah so | and students |

35. obviously within the rules of a laugh.
36. game O.K. if there's **implied consent**
37. with physical contact sports but if
38. if anyone steps outside those rules
39. then it would be an assault

Sequence 9.2

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

The trainer related this anecdote to the class as part of a sequence of stories relating to various aspects of the criminal law in assault cases. The trainer initiates this sequence by asking the students a question concerning the use of "unlawful force" within the context of a game (lines 3 to 5). Having elicited the desired answer (line 8), the trainer moves on to provide a personal anecdote by way of feedback to the class (lines 9 to 13). The trainer then provides a second anecdote that follows from the first concerning a humorous encounter in a barber shop (lines 21 to 31).

The trainer presents these anecdotes as having verisimilitude in two ways. In the anecdote concerning his ear being torn off in a game of rugby, he explicitly claims that the incident reported actually happened to him (line 9). In the humorous anecdote that follows, he imitates the gestures of a barber cutting his hair who is experiencing some difficulty in judging his hair to be of equal length while cutting around his ears (lines 28 to 33) and he articulates the voice of his character in this process

when he says ""No no don't worry about just do it from a distance" (lines 29 and 30). The trainer's use of gestures, accompanied by articulating the voice of his character in the story, might serve to emphasise the immediacy and reality of the situation in a way similar to the performance of an actor on the stage.

Anecdotes were often used by the trainers in this setting as part of the feedback element in Initiation response Feedback (I.R.F.) exchanges of the type described by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975).

Semi-personal anecdotes refer to the exploits of an individual with whom the storyteller has had an association:

1. Trainer/ What are we
2. going to ask this driver
3. then?/ Come on then let's
4. think about some of the
5. questions/ what do **you** know
6. about your car?
- .
- .
- .
- .
7. I know a bloke in Croydon
8. who used to ask "What's your

9. star sign then?" after the
10. date of birth and if they
11. were lying/ he used to work
12. on this theory that
13. everybody knows their star
14. signs/ does everybody know
15. their star signs here?

16. Several Yes
Students

17. Trainer So if they gave a date of
18. (M.W.) birth he asked their star
20. sign/ it was his thing/ I
21. couldn't ask that because
22. I don't remember them all/
23. he'd obviously (.....)

24. Student It's a good idea
(D.H.)

25. Trainer He used to come in with some
26. (M.W.) good bodies as a result of
27. it/ he used to have a lot
28. of this no insurance

29. business and he used to come
30. in with quite a lot of
31. pecuniary advantage with
32. regards to insurance as well
34. because they were telling
35. lies./ I used to hate him
36. when I was a custody officer
37. but they were all valid
38. offences/ that's the thing
39. you see./ Are these the
40. questions that you ask?

Sequence 9.3

Extract from "Charlie 2" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about motor vehicle theft. This part of the lesson was about the kinds of question that an officer should ask a driver whom they suspect of stealing a motor car. As with sequence 9.2, the trainer begins by framing a question to the students. This is followed by responses from a number of students. The trainer then provides some feedback on these responses and moves on to use a semi-personal anecdote in an apparent attempt to emphasise a point about asking drivers unusual questions as a means of investigating their identity. The trainer does this by first establishing the basis of the story and then moves on to emphasise the relevance of this approach by

asking the students what they know about their own horoscope signs. He then makes a point about the idiosyncratic nature of the approach before delivering the “punch line” to the story in the form of a favourable outcome for the officer featured in it.

In addition to personal and semi-personal anecdotes, the trainers in this setting also use stories of a more general historical nature. Anecdotes of this kind are often presented as accounts of events that have actually happened, sequence 9.1 is an example of this. This anecdote was used during a sequence of instruction in a lesson about the taking of written statements from witnesses by police officers. The sequence opens with the trainer suggesting that statement taking should be an honest enterprise. He then goes on to provide an example, in the form of an anecdote, of what can happen in the event of prosecutors being less than honest in a court case in a bid to emphasise the point. The kind of common knowledge necessary to understand this exchange amounts to some familiarity with the case of the Taylor Sisters, a case that had received considerable media attention at the time.

The kind of anecdotes that are told by the students in this setting tend to be limited to those falling into the personal and semi-personal categories. The sole exception to this in the data obtained during this research concerns the use of an historical anecdote by a student who was reporting the efforts of a small group exercise back to the plenary group.

In these circumstances, it might be said that the student had, to a certain extent, taken on some aspects of the role of a trainer.

It seems reasonable to speculate that the limitation of anecdotes told by students to those falling in the personal and semi-personal categories stems from a difference between the students' and trainers' role in the control of common knowledge. The control of common knowledge in the classroom is an aspect of the teacher's role (as is suggested by Edwards and Mercer, 1987). It might be the case that historical anecdotes rely more heavily on common knowledge than those falling into the other two categories, particularly when they are used in the way featured in sequence 9.3 above. This may be so because an understanding of personal and semi-personal anecdotes only requires a general knowledge of what is likely to happen in any given setting whereas an understanding of historical anecdotes often pre-supposes specific knowledge of the event in question. This then suggests that the role of the trainer in controlling the lesson might be such that stories requiring a higher degree of common knowledge tend to be reserved for the trainers' use.

Personal and semi-personal anecdotes told by the students fell into two broad categories: those that were elicited by the trainer and those forming part of an apparently spontaneous contribution from the student.

Elicited contributions are often sought by the trainers at the beginning of a lesson or at the beginning of a new topically related set (Mehan, 1979), for example:

1. TrainerNow assaults are the sort
2. of thing that's our bread and butter
3. really erm/ has anyone actually had
4. any dealings with assaults?

5. Student Well there's so many isn't
6. (A.A.) there?

7. Trainer What on you? Students
8. Student (.....) laugh.
9. (S.M.)

9. Student I've had two on me and two on
10. (D.H.) other colleagues

11. Trainer Have they actually been charged with
12. assault on you?

13. Student Yeah assault on police (....) the
14. (D.H.) last one was on Christmas Eve

32. Trainer Because that's something we're
33. going to be looking at later on is
34. assault on police

Sequence 9.4

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

In this sequence, the trainer introduces the topic area, assaults, and follows it up with a question to the students aimed at eliciting their personal experience of the subject matter. A brief exchange then takes place between one of the students (A.A.) and the trainer involving a jocular remark and some laughter at which point another student (D.H.) indicates that he has had some experience as the victim of an assault. The trainer pursues this by first asking for more details of an incident and then seeking some clarification of one of the aspects of it. That having been done, the trainer makes a direct statement as to the relevance of the anecdote to the lesson by indicating that the legislation associated with this type of assault will be explored later on.

Non-elicited student anecdotes are of two types: questions and observations. As in the case of some of the hypothetical accounts trainers tell (see next chapter), anecdotes students tell sometimes form the basis of a question:

1. Student How long have they got/

2. (S.R.) I mean I stopped a gentleman
3. in Streatham/ he was English/
4. how long has he got to get
5. his car on English plates? I
6. didn't have a clue
7. Trainer I'm under the impression/
8. (M.W.) I'll have to confirm this/ if
9. he's coming over here and he
10. knows he's coming permanently
11. he has to pay import duty on
12. that car straight away/

Sequence 9.5

Extract from "Charlie 2A" Class

This particular question arose during a lesson about motor cars that are temporarily imported into Britain. It was asked after a sequence of talk on the subject that had culminated in a personal anecdote from the trainer. The student first asks the question and then follows it up with a brief account of his own experience, possibly, as a means of justification for raising the issue. The trainer then responds to the question with his views on the matter.

Not all non-elicited anecdotes were framed as questions by the students
Some appeared to be more by way of an observation upon the subject
matter of the lesson, for example:

1. Trainer Do you know what we prosecute
2. from?
3. Students Forty
4. Trainer Yeah we prosecute from forty/
5. now there's an option for the
6. suspect to have the breath
7. specimen replaced by either
8. blood or urine should they fall
9. between forty and forty nine/
10. fifty (.....)
11. Student We had a woman come in the other
12. (A.A.) day who blew one hundred and
13. twenty seven
14. Trainer Yeah?

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------|
| 15. | Student She rolled a car (.....)

(A.A.) | Students

laugh. |
|-----|--|------------------------|

Sequence 9.6

Extract from "Charlie 4" Class

This session was about the legislation concerned with drinking and driving. The trainer begins by asking the students about their understanding of the legal blood/alcohol level. He then provides some feedback on their response. Following this, one of the students (A.A.) provides a short anecdote of his experiences concerning this aspect of police work. The trainer then encourages the student to provide more details of his account.

Students also use personal anecdotes when they are in a situation in which they take on at least some aspects of the trainers' role. This occurs in some of the sessions in which students present a report of the endeavours of a small group exercise to the larger class, for example:

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------|
| 1. | Student Right/ and then we go on to | |
| 2. | (A.A.) After the Search/ obviously | Student (A.A.) |
| 3. | make sure the premises are | points to "After |
| 4. | secure erm/ if not call a | the Search" |
| | on | |
| 5. | boarding-up service/ a copy | the flip-chart. |

6. of the warrant's been left in
7. a prominent position /erm/
8. rights of the occupier and
9. your property list

10. Student He can have a list of the
11. (S.M.) property seized and access to
12. the property (.....)

13. Student A **head count** if in Croydon/
14. (A.A.) which Steve will explain

15. Student There was a bit of a search in
16. (S.M.) Croydon and one of the
17. probationers went upstairs
18. while everyone else stayed
19. downstairs searching and while
20. he was upstairs they found
21. *what they were searching for*
22. so everyone else piled back
23. into the van and/ I don't know
24. if they had got back to the
25. Station or if they were still
26. on their way back to the
27. Station when they noticed that

28. he was missing so they called
29. him up on the radio and he was
30. still in the home (.....)
31. they called him up on the
32. radio and said "Where are you?"
33. and he said "I'm under the bed
34. Sarge" Students
laugh.
35. Student On return to the Station do a
36. (A.A.) five oh nine four/ that's the
37. premises searched record

Sequence 9.7

Extract from "Charlie 3" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about the law and procedure governing police actions when searching private premises. The extract is one of a dual presentation between students S.M. and A.A.. A.A. is standing at the front of the class, S.M., who was a part of the same small group as A.A., is sitting with the rest of the students. A.A. opens the extract when he introduces the topic of police action after a search has taken place. S.M. joins the presentation by making a comment about a person's right to a list of property taken from their premises by the police. A.A. then moves on to suggest a check should be made that all the

officers involved in a search have left the premises. A.A. then introduces a personal anecdote that is told by S.M. to illustrate the point.

Anecdotes: Function

One of the most obvious pedagogic functions served by anecdotes is that they illustrate and, in so doing clarify, complex and abstract legal concepts. An example of this can be found in Sequence 9.2, above, where the abstract concept of “unlawful force” is considered.

Trainers are well aware of the value stories that have in clarifying complex concepts:

- 1. Trainer it could be used where there's a difficult concept
- 2. a complicated legal concept that you're trying to get
- 3. over and a little story can help people understand
- 4. what it is that you're trying to say.....

Sequence 9.8

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

An examination of the material used for training recruits to the police service suggests that these concepts are invariably introduced to students while they undergo initial training in the Metropolitan Police

Training Establishment at Hendon. In these circumstances, the stories used in probationer training are seen to enhance the students' existing understanding of concepts rather than to introduce new ones to them. The use of stories in this way suggests that Baumeister and Newman's (1994) conclusions about the relationship between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought may need modifying. As noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, Baumeister and Newman claim that this relationship is one in which abstract concepts are generated by the application of additional cognitive effort in the narrative mode. That this analysis suggests stories are used to clarify abstract concepts that may already be present in the paradigmatic mode indicates that the relationship between the modes may be a more dynamic one in which stories continue to impact on concepts even after they have been established.

Enhancing understanding by means of storytelling might be one of the factors contributing to the memorability of stories. Some support for the idea that greater understanding contributes to more effective recall can be found in studies conducted by cognitive psychologists (for example, Craik and Lockhart's, 1972, levels of processing model implies that greater understanding leads to a deeper level of processing). The memorability of stories is a matter commented on by Mercer, 1995 and Fielding, 1988, as noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Anecdotes, in common with the other types of story reported in this thesis, also serve to introduce work-place practice into the classroom

context. By introducing practice into the talk of this setting, trainers hope that students will consider lesson material relevant to their performance as *police officers* and that it will, therefore, motivate them to learn it. The importance of this function of storytelling was emphasised by a number of trainers, for example:

1. Trainer I'd actually say that you have to make it erm it has to
2. be something where they could say "Well yeah this is
3. definitely something that could happen or has
4. happened" erm so yeah I mean those would be the
5. limits to how far you could go if you jump beyond
6. those limits such as telling something in an imaginary
7. or fantasy world or having things occur that you know
8. don't relate to what a lifetime's experience tells them
9. goes on erm well yeah I mean I think they'll probably
10. just think well "This really isn't going to happen and
11. we wont really bother with it"..

Sequence 9.9

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

The above extract suggests that ensuring that a story has a strong relationship with events that are likely to occur in the students' work place experience is an important consideration in motivating them to learn the lesson material. The trainer lends further emphasis to this point by

suggesting that departures from this general rule may actually have the effect of de-motivating the students. The limitations on the stories that can be told as a result of the application of this rule are explored more fully in the section on constraints later in this chapter.

The general motivational function of anecdotes is often enhanced by introducing a consequence from the world outside the training environment into the classroom talk. Examples of stories serving to motivate students in this way may be found in sequences 9.1 and 9.3 above. In the first of these examples, the consequence is less than favourable in that it was common knowledge at the time that case was discharged on appeal amid criticisms of the police investigation. On the other hand, the consequences in sequence 9.3 are more favourable in that the officer featured in the anecdote was able to effect a number of valid arrests as a result of his method of questioning. The introduction of a consequence, whether favourable or unfavourable, in the “punch line” of a story serves to further emphasise the relevance of the trainer’s advice to the students’ performance in the work-place. Consequences such as these serve as a means of “evaluation” in Labov’s terms because they serve to support the point for which the story is told.

In addition to fulfilling functions associated with clarification and motivation, the telling of stories by trainers may also be influenced by broader cultural practices in the police. Notably, trainers acknowledge the influence of the talk commonly found in police canteens:

1. Researcherwhy do you think trainers do that (tell stories)?
2. Trainer I think police officers do it erm/ I think that
3. if you go into any canteen [
[
4. Researcher [Sure [
[
5. Trainer [and you get the
6. police officer describing what's happened to them
7. when they're off duty or an incident they'd quite like
8. to relate/ you get them to describe what's happened
9. you know prior to them going into the canteen for
10. their grub " I went to this call here"/ they'll all launch
11. into that/ that comes with the territory

Sequence 9.10

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

Trainers often elicit anecdotes from their students in a bid to assess their existing level of knowledge about the subject matter and to enhance student involvement in the lesson (as is suggested in sequence 9.4 above), for example:

1. Researcher That's of course one thing that many trainers do is to
2. say "Right who's dealt with?"
3. Trainer Indeed yes it's nice to find out their level of
4. experience at the beginning erm because you can
5. actually use it and then come back to it
6. Researcher You say use it?
7. Trainer Well obviously you've planned and prepared a lesson
8. and you know erm the general style of delivery and
9. you know the areas that you want to cover and it's
10. just something that you can use erm when you've
11. actually found out what their level of experience is
12. erm they're normally forthcoming they're not bad and
13. you think "Right that's something I can use later on"
14. so when you get to the particular point you think "Oh
15. so-and-so said something about doing something like
16. that earlier on" so you then get them to elaborate on
17. their story erm obviously you let them have sort of
18. two or three minutes but there's a lot that's not said
19. within that two or three minutes and you can come
20. back to it erm "Oh so-and-so you said you were
21. involved in this where something else happened
22. what else went on?"

23. Researcher What's the advantage to doing that?
24. Trainer Erm well I think there's obviously participation from
25. the group/ the instruction in a way is being delivered
26. by one of their own erm obviously if someone is
27. relating their own experience you know it's
28. considered to be highly relevant and then of course it
29. actually does prompt certainly if you look at issues in
30. a broader sense it does actually prompt other points
31. for discussion and it may actually trigger off the other
32. students to come out with things that you had
33. perhaps planned to deal with anyway but you know
34. certainly if you're looking at an attention curve of no
35. more than nine minutes I think you know that that's
36. the best way well one of the best ways of actually
37. making sure that you don't exceed nine minutes of
38. the trainer prattling on

Sequence 9.11

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

As with the anecdotes told by trainers, accounts of this nature also serve to introduce material from the students' working environment into the classroom talk. Such material is intended to suggest that the subject

matter of the lesson is relevant to the student and that they should, therefore, listen to what the trainer has to say. In this sense, anecdotes told by students, in common with those told by trainers, are intended to be a means of motivating the students to learn. Additionally, trainers also see these anecdotes as a resource that can be re-used later to reinforce the relevance of the lesson material. While being beyond the data obtained for the purposes of this study, it may be reasonable to speculate that anecdotes told by students could be seen as being even more relevant by their peers than those told by trainers. This may so because these anecdotes refer to events that have happened to someone who is present in the class that the students know to be performing the same role as they are. The effect of this could be that students are more likely to conclude that they might experience an event similar to that referred to in the story. In this way, anecdotes told by students may have a greater potential to motivate students to learn the lesson material than those told by trainers. Trainers interviewed during this research acknowledged the motivational value of anecdotes told by students:

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1. | Trainer | Right so erm the two approaches would be and |
| 2. | | which one comes first doesn't I don't think really |
| 3. | | matter would be is asking the group for their |
| 4. | | experiences in a given topic and that can apply to |
| 5. | | equal opps or it can apply to driving documents and |
| 6. | | I think that it's a thing that a lot of trainers do it the |

7. first thing they kick off in their lesson is what
8. experiences people have had whatever the topic is
9. and again I think it's that driving for relevance you
10. know "How many people here have been Station
11. Officer?" hands go up "How many people here have
12. come across a forged driving licence?" so it's
13. something that trainers use constantly erm and if
14. you look at why they're doing it it is again to do with
15. the importance of what you're doing "Is this" you
16. know but then again a lesson on cabs that N.W.'s
17. done recently you know you go in "How many
18. people have had a cab dispute?"/ everybody sits
19. there nobody has had one and then it's a bit difficult
20. to go on and do the lesson when people are
21. thinking well you know "We don't get cabs in South
22. Norwood" so erm you know "There are no black
23. cabs in South Norwood so why are we doing the
24. lesson?" and that I think I would find difficult to do
25. the lesson

Sequence 9.12

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Anecdotes are also used to entertain. The extract shown at sequence 9.2 above provides an example of this. Here, the trainer provides a light-

hearted follow up to the immediate feedback when he gives an account of his experience at the barber's shop after his ear had been sewn back on. While this also forms part of the same feedback element to this I.R.F. sequence, it seems to serve a function more directed towards entertainment than might normally be associated with teaching exchanges in this setting. The trainers suggest that entertainment through storytelling does have some value in the classroom:

1. Trainer by standing up and boring people to death with
2. chunks of case law and stuff like that saying "This is
3. what you must do this is what you must do" erm you
4. know would one bore the students to death and two
5. would probably bore the instructor to death erm/ you
6. know you do actually want to enjoy yourself when
7. you go into class erm you know you want to be
8. challenged

Sequence 9.13

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

When students use non-elicited anecdotes, for example, in sequence 9.5, above, they seem to be used as a means of justification for asking the trainer a question and to clarify what they are asking. The functions served by non-elicited student anecdotes that do not form part of a question, as, for example, on sequence 9.6, above, remain unclear in this

research. It may be that they are used as a means of entertainment for the students. That trainers encourage their telling (as suggested in line 14 of sequence 9.6) may also suggest that they are considered relevant to the lesson material and that they may be harnessed to motivate the students' learning. In addition to this, it may be that the use of non-elicited anecdotes by students stems from an anticipation that the trainer is about to ask for them in any event.

When anecdotes are used by students presenting the findings of a small group discussion to a plenary session of the class (as in sequence 9.7, above, for example), they seem to serve functions associated with both the student and trainer's role. In terms of the student role, these anecdotes serve as a demonstration of the student's understanding of an abstract principle, the value that stories have in doing this has been commented upon by the trainers interviewed in this setting (for example, as suggested in sequence 9.10 above). In terms of the trainer's role, these anecdotes serve to emphasise the relevance of the material being discussed by bring work-place practice into the classroom. In the case of the example shown in sequence 9.7 above, the relevance of the point is enhanced by concluding the anecdote with a consequence of the events reported in it.

As in the case of those told by trainers, the use of non-elicited anecdotes by students may also be influenced by broader cultural practices in the police, for example:

1. Trainerif you're a young probationer you come in/ you
2. work with the shift and you see how people tell stories
3. so you adopt that and it just/ I think it just extends
4. quite logically into training.....

Sequence 9.14

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

From this point of view, the telling of anecdotes both by trainers and students in this setting might serve as a means of asserting that they are all police officers together and could, therefore, be viewed as a means of identifying themselves with the police as a group.

Anecdotes: Constraints

As with all the other types of story considered in this thesis, the use of anecdotes is generally constrained by verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting. Some evidence of this point may be found in lines 2 and 3 of the trainer's comment reported in sequence 9.9 on page 253 where it is suggested that students should be able to say "Well yeah this is definitely something that could happen or has happened" of these stories. Verisimilitude seems to be achieved by the application of this criterion when stories are constructed in this setting. Further to this, the

importance of anecdotes in motivating students is such that trainers have considerable difficulty in teaching a subject about which it is not possible to find stories of events likely to be experienced by the class (as is suggested in sequence 9.12, above). This difficulty depends on context. That a trainer finds it a problem to teach a lesson about, for example, taxi-cabs in one part of London does not mean that is true of other parts of London in which the students may have more experience of the subject. This then suggests that verisimilitude is a highly context-specific concept.

While it seems that verisimilitude has its limits in that anecdotes cannot be found for some topics in this setting, judgements of verisimilitude in general seem to be applied more flexibly to anecdotes than they are to themes and role-plays. This is probably the case for the same reasons as those suggested in Chapter 8 of this thesis in respect of case studies: anecdotes do not demand the same attentional or emotional resources as themes or role-plays. Evidence of this may be found in a number of sequences in which anecdotes were either overtly embellished by the trainer or obviously fictitious. For example:

1. Trainer/ What about voluntary
2. (M.W.) searches before we go on/ do
3. you know what they're doing
4. up at the erm City of London?
5. / What are they doing at the

6. City of London?
7. Student Standing there with guns
8. (S.M.) doing searches
9. Trainer And what are they doing with
10. (M.W.) the guns?/ Voluntary
11. searches?/ Stand up/ two of Trainer asks
12. you/ stand up/ you're two students
13. holding Heckler Koch M.P.5s (J.W. and
14. O.K./ ""Scuse me sir/ we're D.H.) to stand
15. erm searching/ we're up. He then
16. stopping vehicles in this walks over to
17. area because/ do you mind if student(C.H.)
18. we have a look in your car?" and addresses
19. / Is that ever going to be a him with them
20. voluntary search?/ I mean standing on
21. are you ever going to say either side of
22. "no"?/ No it's going to be him.
23. "Do you want to look down Trainer pulls
24. here and all?""// Funny thing his trousers
25. this voluntary consent sort out at the front
26. of thing because the pure by grasping
27. fact that you're in uniform his belt and
28. et cetera may make them feel points down

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|
| 29. | "Well you know they've got | inside |
| 30. | to/ they must be able to | them. |
| 31. | search."/ That's why they've | Students |
| 32. | put this rider on the Codes | laugh. |
| 33. | of Practice..... | |

Sequence 9.15

Extract from “Charlie 2” Class

This extract took place during a lesson about police powers of search. The trainer opens the sequence by introducing the rather abstract notion of a “voluntary search”. He then goes on to explore the limitations of this concept by referring to the then current police practice of armed police officers stopping and searching people and vehicles entering the City of London. As in the case of sequence 9.1, an understanding of the events referred to by the trainer presupposes common knowledge about topical issues in the world outside the classroom. The trainer then takes this a step further when he elaborates on this aspect of police practice through the medium of a short story. He does this by enlisting the assistance of two of the students who are asked to stand up and silently role-play the part of armed police officers engaged in a stop and search exercise. He then vocalises the role of all the actors in the play in a highly theatrical manner. This sequence seems to serve the functions of clarification and entertainment as noted in the last section of this chapter.

Some historical anecdotes found in the classroom talk of this setting are entirely fictitious. These accounts may be regarded as being jokes. Even though humour is in great abundance, jokes are comparatively rare in the classroom talk in this setting. The following example, however, is by no means unique:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Trainer | That's a good start// that | Students |
| 2. | | little self-assessment form | laugh. |
| 3. | | which you should of been | |
| 4. | | completing along the way/ know | |
| 5. | | what I mean?/ would probably | |
| 6. | | give you a clue or two/ oh | |
| 7. | | yes/ you've got all yours done | |
| 8. | | haven't you? You're sitting | Trainer looks |
| 9. | | there smiling | at student |
| | | | (S.R.) |
| 10. | Student | I have actually | |
| | | (S.R.) | |
| 11. | Trainer | Look/ smarmy over here's done | |
| 12. | | his// Well actually Steve went | Students |
| 13. | | to the library last night/ he | laugh. |
| 14. | | wanted to impress the | |
| 15. | | librarian so he said "Do you | |
| 16. | | like Dickens?" and she said | |

17. "Yeah but not after a first
18. date"/ isn't that right? Students
laugh.

Sequence 9.16

Extract from "Charlie 3" Class

This sequence took place at the beginning of the day while the students were completing some documentation arising from the lessons of the previous day. The trainer draws attention to one of the students (S.R.) who appears to have completed his forms before the rest of the class. He then moves on to tell the class a fictitious anecdote in the form of a joke that concerns S.R.'s behaviour the previous evening. Perhaps the most obvious interpersonal function of this exchange seems to be one of entertainment, although, one could speculate that sequences such as these also serve a purpose as a means of causing others to recognise some kind of identity claim (Baumeister and Newman, 1994).

The relative infrequency of embellished anecdotes and jokes in the trainers' talk in this setting may well be due to a lack of compatibility between the use of stories to support identity claims or entertain and the role of a trainer, a point also noted below in connection with personal anecdotes.

While suggesting that anecdotes in general serve useful functions in classroom talk, some of the trainers are concerned that the use of too many personal anecdotes might damage their credibility:

1. ... Trainer ... / I don't happen to use the "Well this
2. happened to me" very much or I'll only do that if
3. what I'm talking about is actually the very specific
4. thing that has happened I'm not a great fan of sort
5. of wheeling off "Oh when I was this" "When I was
6. that" I shy away from that maybe because erm
7. people think that you're just trying to show off I don't
8. know or trying to play the old hand I use a lot of
9. "This has happened" or "This has happened to" so
10. if another trainer's told me something that's
11. happened to them I'll use that and again that may
12. come back to "This is relevant this is important I
13. know that this happened" you known erm/

Sequence 9.17

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Implicit in this sequence is the recognition that stories can be used to support an identity claim (as suggested by Baumeister and Newman, 1994), in this instance, a claim that the teller is a particularly experienced police officer and, therefore, to obtain a reward in terms of respect. That

3. can get into an awful muddle erm I've fallen foul of that
4. a few times in my earlier days as a trainer.....

Sequence 9. 18

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

Further to this, the use of student anecdotes was seen to have some drawbacks because the telling of them might get beyond the control of the trainer, for example:

1. Trainer one thing that I think you've got to be careful
2. there is that if an individual tells you a story related to
3. something that you've told them you might need to
4. probe that story because sometimes they're actually
5. coming they're going off at a tangent

Sequence 9.19

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

What seems to be suggested by sequences 9.18 and 9.19 above is that trainers control the use of anecdotes by using tactics intended to clarify the relevance that the stories told in their classrooms has to the subject matter of the lesson.

Summary

An analysis of the data reported on in this chapter suggests that the kind of anecdotes used in this setting may be categorised as being personal, semi-personal or historical. Personal anecdotes refer to stories of events past in which the teller claims to have participated. Semi-personal anecdotes refer to stories of events past in which the teller claims to have known at least one of the participants and historical anecdotes refer to accounts of events that are the subject of wider common knowledge.

Trainers use all three types of anecdote as part of an explanation during feedback or in a sequence of instruction. Students tend to limit their use of anecdotes to those falling in the personal or semi-personal categories. Anecdotes told by students may be elicited by the trainer or non-elicited. Anecdotes are often elicited from students at the beginning of a lesson or at the start of a new topic. When students use non-elicited anecdotes they form part of some of the questions they ask the trainer or may take the form of an observation on the lesson material.

In considering the functions served by the telling of anecdotes, it seems that trainers use them as a method of communicating the practical relevance of the lesson material and, therefore, as a means of motivating the students to learn. Trainers also use this type of story to clarify legal and procedural concepts that they think of as being complicated and to entertain the students.

Anecdotes are elicited from students at the beginning of the lesson or at the start of a new topic in order to assess their level of knowledge about the subject in question and as a means of securing their participation in the lesson. These anecdotes are also used as a resource by the trainers to be referred to later in the lesson in order to re-emphasise the relevance of the lesson material to the students. Non-elicited anecdotes may be used by students to clarify and justify the questions they ask trainers about the lesson material. Anecdotes told by students when they present the findings of a small group exercise to the class seem to serve a number of functions associated with both student and trainer roles.

Anecdotes told both by trainers and students might be influenced by language practices from the wider cultural context. In this sense, they might be viewed as a means of asserting their common identity as police officers.

Anecdotes adhere to the general constraints of verisimilitude operating in this setting. This general constraint is not, however, applied as rigorously as it is in the case of themes and role-plays because anecdotes do not exert as high a demand on attentional or emotional resources as these kinds of long story.

The use of too many personal anecdotes by trainers in this setting may be limited because the function of supporting an identity claim served by

their telling seems to be inconsistent with those of the role of a trainer. The relative infrequency of overtly embellished and fictitious accounts in this setting may also stem from an incompatibility between their function as entertainment and the role of a trainer. From this point of view, the kind of stories that can be told in this setting is constrained by the consistency of the functions they serve with the role of the storyteller.

Trainers set out to control the use of anecdotes in this setting by using tactics intended to clarify the relevance that the stories told in their classrooms have to the subject matter of the lesson.

Hypothetical Accounts

Introduction

1. Trainer So how do we get in there?/
2. (M.W.) Is it something stolen or
3. *unlawfully obtained?*/ A
4. person turns around and says
5. to me "Sorry Guv'nor I
6. swapped the ticket of my erm
7. / my motor bike and put it
8. on the car because the car
9. tax ran out."/ So there's
10. everything legit/ you do car
11. checks on the tax disk and
12. on the car and they all come
13. down to this person whose
14. documents say who he is/ you
15. know all you've got is the

- 16. fraudulent use of an excise
- 17. licence.....

Sequence 10.1

Extract from “Charlie 2” Class

This chapter sets out to explore the use of hypothetical accounts in this classroom setting. Hypothetical accounts are regarded as stories of events that may come to pass in the future. As suggested in Chapter 5, the use of hypothetical accounts in the classroom studied for the purposes of this research accounts for approximately 24% of the talk in the plenary sessions.

Hypothetical Accounts: Form

When hypothetical accounts used by trainers in this setting they appear either as part of a question or as part of an explanation.

Hypothetical accounts are often used by trainers as the basis of a question, for example:

- 1. Trainer O.K. another thing /
- 2. another thing that pops up with
- 3. witnesses is "He looked like Terry

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------|
| 4. | Wogan." is that good for you? | |
| 5. | Student Yeah | |
| 6. | Trainer Yeah / he's actually told me he looks | |
| 7. | like someone / terrific / but what could | |
| 8. | be the danger of that? | |
| 9. | Student He might not look like him | |
| 10. | Trainer Yeah / there he is in the witness box / | |
| 11. | dock / whatever and he doesn't look a | |
| 12. | bit like Terry Wogan / not a bit / but | |
| 13. | to the witness he did/ Again the other | |
| 14. | danger with that / anybody think of the | |
| 15. | other danger with that? | |
| 16. | Student Terry Wogan might get nicked | Students laugh. |
| 17. | Trainer Yeah / there's a big danger of that / | |
| 18. | You'd get a campaign medal for that | Students |
| 19. | one (.....)/ O.K. the other danger | laugh. |
| 20. | with that is that forever more / in | |
| 21. | the mind of that witness / he has got | |
| 22. | Terry Wogan fixed in his head / he was | |

- 23. the bloke nicking that car./ Eventually
- 24. he sees Terry Wogan on the telly and
- 25. he realises when he gets to court (....
- 26. ) so there is a danger./.....

Sequence 10.2

Extract from "Charlie 1" Class

This extract took place during a lesson about police practice in taking statements from witnesses. The trainer opens the sequence with an account of a hypothetical witness telling a police officer that a person suspected of committing a criminal act looks like the media personality, Terry Wogan. This is followed by a question from the trainer about the value of such a description. When a student responds to the question, the trainer develops the account as part of his feedback to that response. The trainer then pursues the potential consequences of this description having been given by asking the students a second question. The response given on this occasion is not the desired one; it is rather a flippant and humorous one. The trainer acknowledges the humour of this response with some humour of his own before going on to illustrate the desired answer to his question by developing the hypothetical account still further. The use of hypothetical accounts as part of a question in this way stands in some contrast to anecdotes because their use by trainers seems to be limited to the feedback element of Initiation Response Feedback (I.R.F.) sequences.

Like anecdotes, hypothetical accounts are also used by trainers as part of the feedback element of an I.R.F. sequence:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Trainer | O.K. we've got the failing to | Trainer looks |
| 2. | | provide six four well people can | towards the |
| 3. | | fail to provide breath tests can | flip-chart |
| 4. | | we always arrest them? | |
| | | | |
| 5. | Student | Yes | |
| | | (A.A.) | |
| | | | |
| 6. | Student | No only if they've been drinking | |
| | | (W.R.) | |
| | | | |
| 7. | Trainer | Generally that's going to be the | |
| 8. | | case isn't it but you haven't | |
| 9. | | got a carte blanche to arrest | |
| 10. | | someone for failing to provide | |
| 11. | | a breath test on the street even | |
| 12. | | if it's lawfully required for | |
| 13. | | example I'm a member of the | |
| 14. | | temperance society hate drink/ | |
| 15. | | alcohol and that sort of stuff | |
| 16. | | and I've committed a moving | |

17. traffic offence and you stop me
18. and say "I want you to blow in
19. this" and I say "No that's an
20. insult officer/ I'm insulted
21. that you would think that I
22. could possibly let alcohol pass
23. my lips I really am/ so I'm not
24. going to do it because it's you
25. know/ I don't see why I should/
26. I abhor alcohol" have I
27. committed any offence?

28. Student What if I could smell alcohol?
(A.A.)

29. Trainer You can't smell any alcohol/
30. have I committed any offence?//
31. I have because you've lawfully
32. required a breath test/ is what
33. I've said a reasonable excuse
34. not to give you a breath test?

35. Students No

36. Trainer Probably not/ probably not/ you

37. don't know me from Adam O.K./
38. but if you don't suspect
39. alcohol/ can't smell it/ I've
40. categorically stated that I
41. hate the stuff your only option
42. is to report me O.K./ it's not a
43. carte blanche power of arrest/
44. O.K. generally you are going to
45. suspect alcohol but if you don't
46. suspect alcohol in cases such as
47. that then you haven't got a
48. power of arrest

Sequence 10.3

Extract from "Charlie 4" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson dealing with the law and procedure in respect of drinking and driving cases. As in sequence 10.2, the trainer begins the exchange by means of a question. On this occasion, however, the account is not introduced until he has provided feedback to the students' initial responses. Here it is used to form the basis of a second question. The account then forms the theme through which an extended I.R.F. sequence of the type described by Mehan (1979) takes place. The use of hypothetical accounts to prompt the desired answer is characteristic of exchanges of this kind. One of the

students (A.A.) then makes a bid to take control of the account. This is resisted by the trainer who continues to prompt the students into coming forward with the desired answer. Once the desired answer has been obtained, the trainer goes on to provide feedback based upon the circumstances outlined in the hypothetical account.

Hypothetical accounts are also used in similar ways to anecdotes by trainers when they form part of an explanation during a sequence of instruction, for example:

1. Trainerif you're
2. standing up there in front of
3. a bench/ do you understand
4. what I mean when I say
5. "a bench"/ yes or no?
6. Student Yes
7. Trainer Yes/ I mean a stipendary
8. magistrate sits on his own and
9. a bench is made up of three
10. lay magistrates O.K.??/ so the
11. suggestion is that if you're
12. standing up in front of a
13. bench that they might ask you

14. a question of you/ quite
15. innocently? without realising
16. the sensitive nature of the
17. question that they're asking/
18. so you need to say "I would
19. rather not disclose that
20. information in open court" and
21. request/erm/ what do they call
22. that where you go into private
23. chambers?

24. Student Ex-parte
(L.M.)

25. Trainer Ex-parte/ where you go into
26. chambers/ O.K./

Sequence 10.4

Extract from "Charlie 3" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about the process of applying for a search warrant. The trainer opens the extract by first introducing the concept of "a bench" of lay magistrates. He then establishes that the students understand the concept of a lay bench by means of a brief

I.R.F. sequence before moving on to use a hypothetical account about making an application for a search warrant.

Hypothetical accounts are elicited from students by trainers during the course of a lesson and within a topically related set rather than at the start of a lesson or at the beginning of a new topically related set, as is the case with anecdotes. For example:

1. Trainer What about an example then/ what

2. about an example of a G.B.H. that

3. could be inflicted through no direct

4. force then?
5. Student At the moment we can only think of

6. (W.R.) the person who kicks in a door and

7. threatens the occupant who then

8. jumps out of a window
9. Trainer Is everyone happy with that?
10. Student Yeah
11. Student Yeah recklessness as to whether that Student

12. (W.R.) particular harm should occur or not (W.R.)

13. erm who foresees that harm might be appears to

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 14. | done but goes on and takes the risk | read from the |
| 15. | for example that would be where you | flip-chart. |
| 16. | were mucking around with a firearm | |
| 17. | or something and it suddenly goes off | |
| 18. | causing G.B.H. to someone | |

Sequence 10.5

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about serious criminal assaults. In this extract, one of the students (W.R.) is presenting the outcome of a small group exercise to the class when the trainer explicitly asks him to provide an example of one kind of circumstance in which a serious assault (G.B.H.) might be committed. One of the students (W.R.) responds to this by means of a brief hypothetical account about an individual who is injured in a bid to escape from a threat. The trainer invites the other students in the class to comment on what has been said. The student then continues to report on the small group exercise by introducing another element of the statute in respect of serious assaults, on this occasion he provides a hypothetical account to illustrate the point he is making without a direct request to do so from the trainer.

Hypothetical accounts are often a matter of piecemeal joint construction between the trainer and students rather than being explicitly elicited

wholesale in the manner suggested by sequence 10.5 above, for example:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---|--|
| 1. | Trainer | You get a call / right that directs you | over to a |
| 2. | | to a burglary./ So what goes through | flip-chart with |
| 3. | | your mind? | a pen open in
his hand. |
| 4. | Student | Victim
(L.M.) | |
| 5. | Trainer | What about the victim | |
| 6. | Student | Victim's needs
(L.M.) | |
| 7. | Trainer | Victim's needs// Yeah, what else? | Trainer writes
"Victim's
needs"
on flip-chart
pad. |
| 8. | Student | Suspect | |
| 9. | Trainer | Suspect | Trainer writes
"Suspect" on
flip-chart pad. |

10. Student Witnesses

11. Trainer Yeah / good

Trainer writes
"Witnesses"
on
flip-chart pad.

12. Student Preserve the scene / SOCO

13. Trainer In what way SOCO?

14. Student Will I need him?

15. Trainer (.....)// What else?

16. Student (.....)

17. Trainer Anything else?// O.K.// O.K. so we're

Trainer tears
off completed

18. now at the scene/ what was going

19. through your mind when we were going

piece of

20. through that last exercise?/ What are

flip-chart

21. we going to do now?

paper.

22. Student Victim?

(L.M.)

23. Trainer Victim / yeah so what about the victim?

Sequence 10.6

Extract from "Charlie 1" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about police involvement with the victims of criminal offences (in this instance, burglary). The trainer begins by creating a hypothetical situation in which the students are placed, in their role of police officers, at the scene of a burglary. She moves on to construct an account of the broad areas an officer should think about in these circumstances by means of a series of I.R.F. exchanges before returning to a more detailed discussion about the first of those considerations, the victim. This exchange extends far beyond what is reported in this extract, moving into the kind of action that an officer might consider taking in respect of a victim in these circumstances.

As in the case of anecdotes, non-elicited accounts from students often took the form of questions, for example:

1. Trainer Butterworths cites an example of a
2. (N.W.) P.C. who erm// there was this kid
3. and the P.C. had stopped him erm
4. using various amounts of foul
5. language/ you know abusing the P.C.

6. and he went to stop him to put his
7. hand on his shoulders on the (.....)
8. to ask him some more questions at
9. which point the bloke turned around
10. and whacked him/ again that was held
11. not to be in the exercise of his
12. duty because he wasn't exercising
13. any power/ all he admitted was that
14. he had stopped him to ask him some
15. more questions

16. Student Just walking down the street and
17. (S.M.) and someone walks up and kicks you
18. on the shin/ if you're walking down
19. the street in uniform would you be
20. deemed to be in the execution of
21. your duty just patrolling?

22. Trainer No
(N.W.)

23. Student You've got to be exercising a power?
(S.M.)

24. Trainer Yeah a specific power
 (N.W.)

Sequence 10.7

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about the statute law in respect of assaults committed upon police officers. The trainer opens the extract by referring to piece of case law in the form of an anecdotal account of a police officer being assaulted while endeavouring to stop a youth from using foul language. One of the students (S.M.) then asks the trainer a question, making use of a hypothetical account, in an apparent bid to check his understanding of the general principle outlined in the case law. The trainer then provides feedback on the student's question.

In common with anecdotes, there are a number of cases in which non-elicited hypothetical accounts are used by students who were reporting the results of a small group exercise to the larger class, for example:

1. Student In charge/ O.K. again the
2. (D.H.) *offence is if you take a car*
3. out on a road or other public
4. place you would be **in charge** of
5. a motor vehicle unless someone

6. else was in charge I.E. you give
7. the keys to someone else to
8. prevent you from driving/ the
9. defence/ there's a defence if
10. they're (.....) oh yes the
11. defence said if there's no
12. reasonable likelihood of him
13. driving so he was going to stay
14. in the car till the alcohol in
15. in his body would be below the
16. prescribed limit but the counter
17. act to that would be if we could
18. prove if he'd been drinking but
19. wasn't going to drive till four
20. in the morning/ say it was
21. eleven at night if we could
22. prove that the absorption rate
23. is such that if he was to drive
24. at four in the morning he would
25. still be over the limit then
26. that's in charge O.K./ does that
27. make sense?

Sequence 10.8

Extract from "Charlie 4" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about drinking and driving legislation. The student is standing at the front of the class reporting the results of a small group exercise during which they had researched various aspects of road traffic law. The student opens the extract by introducing the abstract legal notion of being "in charge" of a motor vehicle. He provides a hypothetical account outlining both the circumstances and an exception to the circumstances in which one would be regarded as being "in charge" of a vehicle. He moves on to illustrate the legal defence and before providing a brief account of the circumstances in which police might be able to rebut the defence.

Some accounts provided by students do not fall so easily within the elicited or non-elicited categories. One example of this can be found in sequence 10.5 above (line 15 onwards), another is set out below:

1. Trainer All right so what is then the
2. primary difference between section
- 3 eighteen wounding and erm section
4. twenty G.B.H.?

5. Student Well I mean for example in a pub
6. (A.A.) fight for instance erm/ I'm sitting
7. next to Dave and I think "Right I'm
8. going to hit him" and I think "Right

9.	I don't want to do him any damage or	
10.	anything I'm just going to smash a	
11.	glass in his face" and I only intend	Students
12.	to do damage to his face he gets	laugh.
13.	scarred but I didn't intend to scar	
14.	him/ however if I break the glass	
15.	and I think "Right I'm going to scar	
16.	him for life" and he's scarred	
17.	that's a section eighteen I've	
18.	intended to do him some damage	
19.	whereas with the section twenty I	
20.	didn't	

Sequence 10.9

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

This extract follows on from sequence 10.5, above, and begins with the trainer asking a direct question about the difference between two of the more serious types of assault in statute law to a student (A.A.) who is reporting the results of a small group exercise back to the class. The student responds by providing a concrete example of this difference in the form of a short hypothetical account of an incident in which the lesser of the two assaults is perpetrated. He then varies the account to include circumstances in which the more serious of those assaults might be

committed. The extract ends with a short summary by the student identifying the difference between the initial account and its variation.

Unlike the previous sequence, however, the trainer did not explicitly ask the student to provide an account illustrating the difference between these two types of assault. In this sense, it may be thought of as being a non-elicited hypothetical account. On the other hand, it was used shortly after the trainer had explicitly asked the students' to provide an account illustrating another aspect of the same legislation. It might, therefore, have been provided because the student interpreted the trainer's question in this instance as one requiring an answer that included such an account.

Hypothetical Accounts: Function

As in the case of anecdotes, trainers use hypothetical accounts to clarify abstract potentially complex legal concepts and procedures. The sequences presented at 10.2 and 10.4 are examples of accounts being used to serve this function. In sequence 10.2 the hypothetical account is an illustration of the general notion that witnesses to events can sometimes get confused when they are asked to identify the suspected perpetrators of criminal behaviour. In sequence 10.4, the account is used to illustrate the abstract legal concept of a lay bench of magistrates. That trainers use stories as a means to this end is suggested in the following

comment made by the trainer featured in sequence 10.3, above, when he reflected on his performance:

1. Trainer the one about the Temperance Society was a
2. spur of the moment thing I said in reaction to a point
3. that had been brought up in class I think and that
4. was to emphasise a point of law in relation to a
5. power of arrest for drink-drive that you know what I
6. didn't want to do was to confuse them about their
7. powers in circumstances of an accident erm anyone
8. involved in an accident you know obviously as a
9. person in charge of a motor vehicle erm you know
10. could be breath tested but they didn't have a carte
11. blanche power of arrest in relation to that erm if they
12. didn't suspect erm certainly with a refusal to actually
13. take the test if they didn't actually suspect the person
14. of having been drinking so I just used that sort of put
15. on righteous indignation to almost put them on the
16. spot in a way and see which side of the coin they'd
17. go to/ how many of them actually realised their
18. powers and how many didn't and I think that well
19. there was a mixed reaction.....

Sequence 10.10

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

As in the case of anecdotes, clarifying abstract concepts in this way may serve to enhance the students' understanding of them. This may then have a favourable impact on memory as discussed in Chapter 9.

Hypothetical accounts are also used to present the content of the lesson as being relevant to the students by introducing an element of work-place practice into the classroom context. Used in this way, stories serve to emphasise the importance of what is said by the trainer and in so doing have the aim of motivating the students to learn the lesson material. Some evidence of a general intention to use stories for this purpose may be found in the extract reported from an interview with a trainer shown at sequence 9.9 in the last chapter.

As suggested in Chapter 9, this general function may be enhanced in the case of anecdotes by concluding the story with a consequence. In the case of hypothetical accounts, putting the student "on the spot" enhances the general motivating value of the story. Some evidence of a hypothetical account being used to serve this end can be found in sequence 10.10 above (lines 15 and 16). The extract below contains further evidence of this:

- 1. Trainer so you'll give the legislation on what/ the
- 2. possession of drugs for example and you'll give the
- 3. technical and say "Well O.K. for example Fred's

4. standing on the corner erm and he's dealing but his
5. actual in the post box behind him is where his drugs
6. are" so immediately people are then placing
7. themselves there and and it helps them understand/
8. I think that some people need that more than others
9. Researcher Actually sort of putting themselves there?
10. Trainer Yeah to think well you know "O.K. I can see Fred
11. there that's what they mean by that erm/ and I think
12. you'll probably hear that lots from the trainers here
13. little things like that/

Sequence 10.11

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

This extract suggests that when hypothetical accounts are used to put students "on the spot", they might also evoke mental images of the events under consideration in the minds of the audience. This could have two consequences. First, the stories may make the material more memorable by enriching the memory of its telling. This argument seems to have some support in the conclusions drawn by cognitive psychologists from research into memory (for example, Paivio and Begg's 1971 dual code theory). Second, it might be argued that putting students "on the spot" is a way of giving them the opportunity to

experience some of the dilemmas they are likely to face in the work-place and for enhancing their involvement in the lesson. The use of this kind of story as a means of involving the students in the lesson is further evidenced by jointly constructed hypothetical accounts such as is shown in sequence 10.6, above. In this sense, putting students “on the spot” might serve the aims the ideology embracing experiential learning and student involvement considered in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

In addition to fulfilling a pedagogical function, when hypothetical accounts are used to put the students “on the spot” they are seen as serving the broader cultural values of the police by giving primacy to practice over what is regarded as “theory” (as suggested by Fielding, 1988), for example:

- | | | |
|----|------------|---|
| 1. | Trainer | Well it makes them act as police officers/ it doesn't |
| 2. | | make them into students/ if you present them with a |
| 3. | | problem and you're acting out the individual they're |
| 4. | | dealing with they have to deal with it as police |
| 5. | | officers [|
| | | [|
| 6. | Researcher | [Sure [|
| | | [|
| 7. | Trainer | [not as theorists/ you know |
| 8. | | discussing black and white legislation you know so |
| 9. | | yeah it puts them in their normal everyday role and |

10. *makes them deal with it like that*

Sequence 10.12

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

In common with anecdotes, hypothetical accounts are often elicited from students as a means of testing their level of knowledge about a particular topic (as is suggested in sequence 10.5, above). As has been noted, however, hypothetical accounts are asked for by the trainer during the course of a lesson and within a topically related set rather than at the beginning. Unlike anecdotes, they do not form a resource for trainers to refer to again during the lesson in an attempt to re-assert the relevance of the lesson material to work place practice. On the other hand, that they need not refer to events that come within the direct experience of the student means that they form a more flexible resource than the anecdote when used as a means of testing knowledge.

When non-elicited hypothetical accounts form part of a question asked by a student, they seem to serve similar functions as anecdotes when they are used in the same circumstances. Such functions centre on justification for asking the question and clarity about what is being asked.

When students who are reporting the results of a small group exercise to the class use hypothetical accounts, they also seem to serve similar functions as those of anecdotes in the same circumstances. Here the

functions served by these accounts are those associated with both the students' and trainers' roles. In terms of the students' role, the accounts serve as a demonstration of the student's understanding. In terms of the trainers' role, accounts serve to clarify abstract general legal concepts.

Hypothetical Accounts: Constraints

As with any other story, the use of hypothetical accounts is constrained by verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting. Evidence of this general point may be found in sequence 9.9 of the previous chapter and in the sequence below:

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1. | Trainer |I mean if you're emphasising a point that |
| 2. | | they need to know and then relating that in some |
| 3. | | ways to practical situations that are relevant to |
| 4. | | them they think "Yeah this is what we need to |
| 5. | | know and this you know let's get let's learn it" |
| 6. | | rather than it being if it's purely theoretical with |
| 7. | | no practical basis they'll see it as being pointless |

Sequence 10.13

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

As with anecdotes and case studies, however, there is some flexibility in the way this constraint is applied to hypothetical accounts:

1. Trainer I mean it was used to illustrate a point I mean you
2. know the point was so that they understood the power of
3. arrest but I think that the circumstances described would
4. be exceptionally unlikely.

Sequence 10.14

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

In this extract, the trainer is commenting on the hypothetical account that he told in sequence 10.3 above. Here he acknowledges that the event described in this account is unlikely to occur. In these circumstances, the need to clarify a legal concept seems to have overridden the usual considerations for verisimilitude.

Hypothetical Accounts: Control

Trainers exert control over the use of hypothetical accounts in this setting in order to ensure that they serve their intended functions. They endeavour to do this in a number of ways:

- (i) They control the development of the accounts told by them.
An example of this may be found in sequence 10.3 above. In this extract the trainer clearly tries to confine the account to circumstances in which the officer cannot smell alcohol on a driver stopped for committing a traffic offence despite an attempt by a student at deviation (lines 28 and 29).
- (ii) They control the development of the jointly constructed accounts by asking precise questions of the students (as suggested in sequence 10.6 above).
- (iii) They control accounts told by students providing feedback on them. This is done either in the form of their response to a question or in their comments on the results of a small group exercise that have been reported to the class.

Summary

When trainers use hypothetical accounts they form part of a question or part of an explanation. When hypothetical accounts are used as part of an explanation they appear in the feedback element of an I.R.F. sequence or in a sequence of instruction.

Hypothetical accounts are elicited from students by the trainer during a lesson and within a topically related set rather than at the beginning of a lesson or at the start of a new topically related set.

Students use non-elicited accounts when they present the results of a small group exercise to the class.

Some hypothetical accounts that are used by students have the characteristics of being both elicited and non-elicited. In these circumstances, apparently non-elicited accounts may be used as a result of anticipating the expectations of the trainer.

Hypothetical accounts told by trainers used to clarify abstract legal and procedural concepts that the trainer thinks of as being complicated. When used for this purpose, they might serve to enhance the way the concept is understood. This may have favourable consequences for memory.

Hypothetical accounts are also used in this setting as a way of introducing work-place practice into the context of the classroom. This is intended to motivate learning on the part of the students. Using the story to put the students' "on the spot" can enhance the motivating function of hypothetical accounts. The effect of this may be to harness the students' imagination. This may encourage a context in which experiential learning takes place and have further favourable consequences for memory.

When hypothetical accounts are used in this way, they may also be viewed as a reflection of broader police cultural values in which primacy is given to practice over “theory”.

The functions served by hypothetical accounts told by students are similar to those of anecdotes. When trainers elicit them they serve as a means of assessing the students’ understanding of a concept. When they form part of a question asked by a student they seem to be used to *justify and clarify what is being asked*. When students reporting the results of a small group exercise back to the class use them, they serve functions associated with the trainer and student roles.

As with other stories, hypothetical accounts are constrained by verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting. Judgements of verisimilitude are, however, applied less rigorously to hypothetical accounts than they are to themes and role-plays.

Trainers exert control over the hypothetical accounts told in this setting by taking a variety of measures intended to ensure that they serve the functions for which they are used.

Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter sets out to summarise the research reported in this thesis and to draw together the threads that have emerged from the analysis. To this end, the chapter begins with a summary of the issues discussed in the first four chapters of this thesis (theoretical influences, previous literature, methodology and ideology). It then moves on to report on the threads arising from an analysis of the data in this research in terms of the form, function and constraints of storytelling in this setting. The chapter ends by considering the implications of these findings and by making suggestions for further areas of research.

Theoretical Influences and Previous Literature

Bruner's (1986) views about a narrative mode of thought were an important influence on the research reported in this thesis. Bruner's claim that narrative has verisimilitude as its goal is of particular interest in that it has been argued that the way this concept is defined and applied in any given setting depends on the inter-mental context in which the story is used. In this sense, this thesis might be said to have developed Bruner's work.

Baumeister and Newman's (1994) suggestion that stories serve a number of functions in the intra and inter personal domains of analysis has also influenced this research. When considered in the intra-personal domain, the point they make about the functions of storytelling being focused on ways of making sense of experience is of particular interest. When considered from the inter-personal domain, the use of stories in teaching might be best considered to fall within the function relating to the passing of information.

Unlike Baumeister and Newman's work, the focus of this thesis has been more firmly in the interpersonal than the intrapersonal domain. This difference of focus may account for some difference between what is reported here and Baumeister and Newman's views on the relationship between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought. Baumeister and Newman claim that this relationship is one in which abstract concepts

stem from the application of additional cognitive effort to the narrative mode, abstractions from the paradigmatic mode might then influence the generation of later narrative forms. That this study suggests stories can be used to clarify abstract concepts that may already be present in the paradigmatic mode indicates that the relationship between these modes may be more dynamic than this. When this is considered together with the way in which abstract principles, such as those embodied in judgements of verisimilitude, are used to select and adapt stories in this setting, the boundary between the two modes of thought may be less clear cut than is suggested by Baumeister and Newman.

Sociological accounts of story-telling in vocational settings such as those of Dingwall (1977), Atkinson (1981) and Orr (1990) have also been important in that they extend an analysis of story-telling functions into the socio-cultural domain. Here it is suggested that stories serve to define and defend a group as well as acting as a measure of competence within it. In addition to this, Shearing and Ericson's (1991) point about stories being used as a cultural resource for action has been significant in that their analysis emphasises the proactive functions of story-telling in addition to the more reactive emphasis given to it by Baumeister and Newman. Here, Shearing and Ericson suggest that police action often stems from their use of stories as a cultural resource rather than from following a set of rules. The process by which this takes place is one of analogous thinking that "invites activity by encouraging the construction of a particular subjectivity" (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.500).

This thesis has suggested that the use of stories in the classroom may well be influenced by the kind of stories told in the broader cultural context of the police service. This is notable in the comments made by some trainers suggesting some continuity between the work place and the classroom (sequence 9.10 on page 255) and in the constraints limiting the emotive content of stories used in the classroom. The idea that stories may provide a resource for action also finds some support in this thesis. This is most notable in terms of the desire that trainers have for the lesson material to have practical application (for example, sequence 10.12 on pages 297 and 298), it is this that is seen to both motivate the students and to constrain the kind of stories that can be told.

When these functions are considered together with the points originally made by Bruner (1986), it may be that the telling of stories within educational and training settings serves to create worlds that are possible in the context in which they are told. Once appropriated by the learner, these stories can be used as a means of making sense of experience and as a resource for future action.

Of particular interest to this thesis is the sociological study conducted into police training by Fielding (1988).

Fielding's work suggests that stories are primarily used for two reasons in police recruit and probationer training: to facilitate student involvement

and to introduce work-place practice into the classroom. Both these functions stem from ideological influences: the former from pedagogy and the latter from broader cultural influences favouring practice over “theory”. Fielding also notes two main constraints on the telling of stories in this setting:

- (i) Trainers regard some stories, notably role-plays, as having little value because they can only achieve verisimilitude in a very limited sense.
- (ii) The use of stories to facilitate involvement depends on the amount of relevant experience the students are thought to have. The more limited the trainer considers this experience to be, the less the students are actively involved in the lesson.

The findings reported in this thesis support and extend Fielding’s analysis. It is certainly the case that stories are used to facilitate student involvement and to introduce work-place practice into this setting. This thesis has developed this idea by examining the relationship between these functions; it is thought that student involvement is facilitated by the introduction of work-place practice into the classroom. In addition, it has shown that stories serve a variety of related functions such as motivation, clarification and the pursuit of curriculum goals. The idea that stories are constrained by verisimilitude in police classrooms is also supported and

extended by this thesis. Here it has been suggested that judgements of verisimilitude are not absolute, rather they depend on factors such as the type of story to be used and the nature of the lesson material to be taught. The data obtained during this research can neither support nor refute Fielding's view that the degree of student involvement depends on the extent of their experience. This is so because this research focused solely on the training of probationers who were more advanced in their police career than some of those observed for the purposes of Fielding's study.

Method

An exploration of the interpersonal functions served by narrative in this setting seemed to be best served by the use of an inductive research design using qualitative data. Narrative is embodied in the talk and written texts of this setting. This kind of data, and the emphasis on function in this research, suggested that the most appropriate theoretical framework underpinning the method to be used should be one of discourse analysis of the kind most closely associated with discursive psychology (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987 and Edwards and Potter, 1992). Since much of the research for this study relates to events in a classroom, the use of this kind of discourse analysis was influenced Edwards and Mercer (1987).

The research took place in two phases. The first phase consisted of a longitudinal study during which a single cohort of students was observed as they progressed through their probation. The second phase consisted of recording a number of role-plays and case study sessions in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the first phase of this research.

The recording of the data and its analysis consisted of the audio and, in some instances, video recording of classroom behaviour. The tapes arising from this were transcribed. The transcripts and documentary material obtained during the course of this study were then coded and analysed.

Ideology

This thesis suggests that the concept of “ideology” carries the notion of power with it as advocated by McLellan (1986). The dilemmatic nature of ideology and the distinction between “lived” and intellectual ideologies suggested by Billig et al. (1988) is also acknowledged.

The kind of ideology considered in this thesis is primarily an educational one. Some support may be found here for Billig et al's (1988) suggestion that educational ideologies:

- (i) Do not exist in isolation from the broader cultural context.

- (ii) Are defined in contrast to other points of view.
- (iii) Include values that are not mutually exclusive.

The ideology impacting on police training in the following areas was examined:

- (i) The governmental area of the Home Office.
- (ii) The central department responsible for the training of trainers.
- (iii) The central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers.
- (iv) The local trainers themselves.

The pedagogical concepts of learner, trainee, student-centred and experiential learning are central to the ideology of training operating in this setting. Three of the four areas listed above explicitly use these concepts; the central department responsible for writing lesson material probably does not do so because their role is limited to designing lesson material. The Home Office associates a learner-centred approach with an emphasis on tacit knowledge, context-bound skills and the development of attitudes. Experiential learning is described with

reference to the use of methods that include case studies. The central department responsible for training trainers associates trainee, student-centred and experiential learning with the use by the trainer of a number of defined behaviours known as “interventions”. Trainers associate experiential and student-centred learning with the involvement of students in the lesson. The use of themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are seen as means of securing such involvement. The central department responsible for writing lesson material advocates the use of role-plays and case studies and sets them in the context of a theme. Themes, role-plays, case studies and the anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that are used by trainers in this classroom then form the focus of the research reported in this thesis.

Narrative Forms

This section briefly describes the form taken by narratives in this setting. The next section sets out to explore the functions served by the use of these narratives.

Each weeklong probationer attendance is organised by a theme. Centrally produced guidance for trainers comes in the form of a booklet for each attendance referred to as the “Trainer’s Notes”. Each booklet divides the theme for that attendance into a series of phases. Each phase makes recommendations about the teaching methods to be used

(for example, role-plays, case studies or other group exercises) and provides the material necessary to do so (for example, in the form of role-play scripts). Each phase is also cross-referenced with the relevant pre-reading material that is given to the students prior to the commencement of the attendance.

The theme in nearly all of the probationer attendances consists of a story. The teaching methods recommended during each attendance consist substantially of role-plays and case studies. The theme manifests itself to the students through the application of these methods.

Structurally, role-plays and case studies may be said to consist of three distinct stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing.

The introduction stage of a role-play may be either long or short and, in some instances, includes modelling of the kind of behaviour favoured by the trainer. The activity stage may involve single or multiple student role-players. The de-briefing stage involves an invariant pattern of events consisting of elicited student feedback and trainer commentary on it.

The introduction stage of case studies consists of a lengthy period of talk by the trainer focusing on the subject matter of the lesson. This is followed by a shorter sequence concerning the administration of the activity. The activity stage consists of students negotiating an answer to the question(s) framed in the case study and the debriefing stage progresses through a sequence of elicitation and clarification of the

students' answers and, sometimes, a challenge to those answers by the trainer.

The other types of stories used in this setting are those that take a relatively short time to talk about. They fall into two categories: anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Anecdotes are stories of events that generally purport to relate to events that have actually happened (a number of instances in which the tale is either an overt elaboration of an event or an entirely fictitious event do, however, stand out in the data for this research). These anecdotes may be personal, semi-personal or historical. Personal anecdotes are a story of events in which the teller claims to have had some involvement. Semi-personal anecdotes are stories of events in which the teller claims to have personal knowledge of at least one of the participants and historical anecdotes are stories of events assumed to be the subject of wider common knowledge (for example, events reported in the media. Hypothetical accounts are stories of potential future events.

Anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are both used by trainers as a means of explanation. Such an explanation might be part of a sequence of didactic instruction or it might form part of the feedback element in an initiation response feedback (I.R.F.) sequence. Hypothetical accounts may also be used by trainers as part of a question and may, therefore, appear in the initiation element of an I.R.F. sequence as well.

Both anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are the subject of elicitation from students by the trainer. Anecdotes tend to be elicited from students when a new topic is introduced and hypothetical accounts tend to be elicited after it is under way. Anecdotes elicited from students are seen as a resource that the trainer could return to at a later point in the lesson.

When the students use of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts has not been elicited, they often appear as part of a question asked of the trainer. Occasionally, anecdotes are also used to as part of a spontaneous student comment on an explanation for a piece of law and procedure that is made by the trainer.

Narrative Functions

1. Trainer they're sitting in a classroom but what you want
2. them to do is imagine they're out there on the streets.....

Sequence 11.1

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

The principal purpose of the use of narrative, in all its forms, in this setting is one of the introduction of work-place practice into the classroom. Such a purpose serves functions associated with motivation, involvement and memory. As noted above, this purpose and these

functions are consistent with the findings reported in the earlier study by Fielding (1988).

By introducing practice in the form of stories into the classroom, trainers hope that students will view the abstract law and procedure on which they are based as important to their effective performance in the work place. For this reason, trainers anticipate that the more relevant lesson material appears to be to work place performance, the more likely it is that students will be motivated to learn it. Introducing a consequence into the story sometimes enhances such motivation. These consequences may be either favourable in terms of the police characters in the story being successful in making an arrest or securing a conviction or unfavourable in terms of there being no arrest or conviction.

On the other hand, the less relevant lesson material appears, the more likely it is that students will be de-motivated from learning it. Such de-motivation may give rise to circumstances in which the trainer's control over the classroom process is compromised.

Trainers consider that the motivational function served by the introduction of work-place practice into the classroom is likely to lead to a greater involvement in the lesson material on the part of the students. Stories do this by putting the students "on the spot". This process is enhanced in the role-play by the physical participation of the student taking part in the activity stage. With case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts,

personalising the story often does this. The personalisation of stories in this setting takes place in at least two ways:

- (i) Some of the elements in the story may be indicative of the involvement of the audience in it. For example, the story might be phrased in terms of “you”, the audience, being out on patrol when “you” encounter a particular incident.
- (ii) The story might conclude with a task inviting the audience to participate in formulating a successful resolution to it. For example, the story might end with the question “what would you do now?”

In these circumstances, the story is phrased in such a way as to facilitate the construction of an inter-mental context in which the involvement of the students is encouraged.

Since stories are seen as a means of promoting student involvement, they are considered to be a way of encouraging experiential learning on the part of the students. Experiential learning is valued as an outcome in the student centred approach operating in this context. In this way, stories are regarded as contributing towards the pedagogical ideology advocated in Metropolitan Police Probationer Training.

Such involvement is thought to have a beneficial impact on memory and learning processes. This may be the case for at least two reasons. First, as noted, trainers often use stories as a way of clarifying complex general concepts in lesson material. As with all the other stories in this setting, these stories relate to the kind of events that students are likely to be familiar with. In these circumstances, the use of stories to illustrate abstract concepts amounts to more than the movement of talk and text from the particular to the general or the general to the particular, it also represents a move from what is likely to be familiar to the unfamiliar. Such a use of stories is consistent with a constructionist view of learning. Moreover, it is consistent with a social constructionist view in that these stories form part of the “collective memory” (Middleton and Edwards, 1990) of the trainers and students in this setting. Understandings formed in this way may assist the processes involved in memory construction. This may take place by facilitating connections between the new material and existing memories at the point of encoding and then by making abstract principles easier to organise in memory at the point of storage and retrieval. Second, some of the comments made by trainers interviewed would seem to suggest that stories have the potential to evoke mental images in the mind of the listener. This is considered to enhance the construction and recall of memories associated with the story. There may be some support for this view in cognitive research into memory processes.

From the point of view of a socio-cultural domain of analysis, stories serve to help the students to define the police as a group. In this sense, they may be regarded as a means of facilitating the transition of the student into the police service. Perhaps, the most obvious way in which this is done is by the provision of examples of what it is to be a police officer in particular circumstances. Such examples often include stories of the police in interaction with other groups in society. In addition to this, the use of stories in police training may be seen as a manifestation of broader cultural values in which primacy is given to practice over theory as is suggested in Fielding's earlier study.

When the functions of story-telling in this setting are considered within the interpersonal and socio-cultural domains, they might be seen as a means of helping students to make sense of their experiences as police officers. In so doing, stories do not only serve as a way of making sense of events past but also amount to a resource for guiding further action (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). In Bruner's (1986) terms, the stories told by trainers do this by creating "possible worlds" in which the students might find themselves. Given that the cultural context determines what is "possible", stories might be seen as a useful example of the interface between culture and cognition.

Narrative Constraints

According to Bruner (1986), narrative is judged by the strength of its verisimilitude or life-likeness. The research reported here supports this view and seeks to develop it by considering the application of verisimilitude in context.

Judgements about verisimilitude in this setting focus strongly on the cognitive aspects of work-place performance. That is to say that these judgements hinge on the tasks to be undertaken, the procedures to be followed and the legislation to be interpreted in relation to events considered likely to take place in the students' working environment outside the classroom. The general focus on cognition rather than emotion is, perhaps, a reflection of both the pedagogical and professional ideologies operating in this setting. The lesson objectives set by the central training establishment almost exclusively deal with the cognitive aspects of knowledge. Such a focus is consistent with the use of these objectives as a means of measuring the acquisition of lesson material by the students in examinations or as a result of questions asked by the trainer. It is, perhaps, a little more difficult the "measure" an emotional response by these means. Second, the broader culture of the police may well be influential in focusing classroom talk on cognition given that the profession is predominantly a masculine one in which the expression of emotion is considered to be inappropriate.

It seems then that judgements of verisimilitude are confined to an aspect of experience rather than being made on what might constitute experience more generally. The research reported in this thesis also suggests that the rigour with which such judgements are applied vary according to the form of story that is told.

The degree of deviation from what is considered life-like in this setting depends on the extent to which the students are likely to get involved in the story. When story-themes and role-plays are used, deviations from what is considered life-like tend to be very limited. In both cases, the amount of student involvement is likely to be relatively high. In the first instance, this is so because of the amount of time the student is asked to engage in the story-theme (several days). In the case of role-plays, the high degree of involvement stems more from the potential emotional risks associated with the use of a technique in which performance is subject to public evaluation. These risks are increased in circumstances where emotive material, such as child sexual abuse, forms the subject matter of the lesson. In these circumstances, centrally prescribed lesson material deviating from what is considered life-like is often either amended or discarded by trainers.

On the other hand, when case studies, are used, the performance of individuals is rarely an issue and listening to anecdotes and hypothetical accounts places only limited demands on the students' time and attention. In these circumstances, the students can be more readily

asked to suspend disbelief and deviations from what is considered life-like are more extensive. Such deviations tend to serve the demands of the curriculum and can, on occasion, serve more of an entertainment function that is usually consistent with the role of a trainer.

In the case of the demands of the curriculum, such deviations manifest themselves in two ways:

- (i) Stories that relate to single-incident events may refer to occurrences that the students are likely to encounter only rarely in the work place.
- (ii) Stories that relate to more than one event may feature a greater number of incidents than the students would normally expect to encounter in the period of time suggested by the account (this is more often the case with case studies).

Deviations such as these serve to illustrate a variety and number of points in the centrally prescribed curriculum that it might otherwise not be possible to feature in story form.

Deviations from what is considered life-like occasionally take place where the entertainment function of the story would seem to outweigh the pedagogic functions served by it. In these circumstances, the story tends to take the form of a joke. While there is some instances of joke telling in

the data obtained during this research, they are comparatively rare. This may be the case because the role of a trainer is seen as having little consistency with the role of the entertainer in police probationer training classrooms.

Deviations from the strict canons of life-likeness in this setting are not, however, without limit where lower risk stories are concerned. For example, trainers think very hard about even using case studies in lessons about emotive topics such as sexual assault. Here, the concern is that the subject matter combined with the general quality that stories have for involving their audience might lead to a level of emotional involvement on the part of the students that is well beyond the control of the trainer.

This analysis suggests that the use of stories can give rise to a dilemma in which they are both a means of realising an ideology of student involvement and yet also have the potential to involve the students to an unacceptably high emotional degree in them. In these circumstances, the trainers seem to take the emotional risk factors associated with the type of story and the subject matter it deals with into account before deciding what form of story, if any, should be used.

Narrative Control

When trainers pursue the ideological goal of enhancing student involvement through the use of storytelling, they do so within the constraints of the curriculum. As has been suggested, the cognitive task-orientated focus of the curriculum is reflected in the way verisimilitude is defined in this setting. Deviating from verisimilitude so defined increases the chances of trainers losing control of the classroom process in terms of an irretrievable departure from the curriculum taking place. Such a loss of control might manifest itself either by the students failing to get involved in the lesson and becoming de-motivated or by their becoming too immersed in the affective associations of the lesson material. In the former case, this might arise as a result of the story being deficient in its relationship to work place practice. In the latter case, this might arise as a result of a story or the wrong type of story being used to illustrate subject matter of an emotive nature.

In these circumstances, it is, perhaps, not surprising that trainers try to control the process of storytelling. It is in the application of control to a context in which student involvement is valued that the dilemmatic concepts of individual freedom and social control found in the "common sense" of wider society (Billig et al, 1988) are played out in this setting.

Trainers try to control the process of storytelling by amending or discarding centrally written thematic, role-play and case study material

that they judge either to have a poor relationship with the work-place practice of the students or to relate to the use of emotive subject matter. Similar judgements are also made about the case studies and role-plays they write and the anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that they tell. Some trainers do this by explicitly considering the anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that they tell in advance of the lesson in which they are to be told, others seem to make such judgements closer to the time of telling. Some stories are the product of solely of the trainer's own experience, others are the elicited experiences of other trainers and other police officers. Some stories purport to relate to an event that has actually taken place, while others are accounts of what might have or could happen based on the experience of the trainer or his or her peers.

The controls exerted by trainers before a story is told are then supplemented by measures taken during its telling. In the case of role-plays and, to some extent, the themes supported by them, such control is exerted by the non-police roles being played by trainers rather than students. Where case studies are used, such control might be achieved by asking the students to address precise questions about the story. In the case of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts, such control might be exerted through the answers given by the trainer in response the students' questions about the account.

Finally, trainers control stories when they give feedback on the students' responses to them. The extent to which a student response is treated as

valid or invalid often depends as much on a judgement of work-place relevance as it does on the relationship of the response to the objectives of the lesson.

Though the use of these measures, trainers try to minimise the possibility of events getting out of their control. In so doing, judgements of verisimilitude are made in such a way as to both promote student involvement and to limit it to the cognitive aspects of lesson material. For this reason, it is suggested that the wider dilemma surrounding the twin concepts of freedom and constraint becomes manifest through the control of verisimilitude in this setting.

Implications

If the findings reported in this thesis are generalisable and the use of *stories in police probationer training is to take place effectively*, they have implications for the selection and training of police probationer trainers. These implications refer to operational experience and teaching skills.

In respect of the first of these implications, the analysis reported in this thesis suggests that the successful use of a story in this classroom depends crucially on the strength of its relationship to events that have been experienced or are likely to be experienced by the students. Such "events" do not exist as absolute occurrences in some kind of objective

reality but rather amount to the way in which the students intersubjectively construct experience in this particular professional context. It, therefore, seems likely that using stories effectively in this setting demands a degree of familiarity with the students' work place. Further to this, inasmuch as police practice changes and police cultural values shift, such a familiarity needs to be up-to-date.

The analysis reported in this thesis also suggests that the successful use of stories in the classroom depends on understanding the flexible nature of their relationship to the work-place experience of the students. As has been noted, stories that demand a high level of attentional or emotional resources from students warrant a stronger relationship with work-place experience than those demanding less emotional or attentional resources. This means that themes and role-plays need to have a higher level of verisimilitude than case studies, anecdotes or hypothetical accounts. This suggests that trainers and training designers might need to acquire the skill to vary the level of verisimilitude according to the type of story that is to be used.

In addition to this, trainers may need some guidance in how to control the stories that are used in the classroom. As noted, this takes place at each stage of the process from story selection to debriefing. Here, story selection includes not only the content of the story but also the type of story when considered in conjunction with the nature of the subject matter to be taught. In particular, it is suggested that considerable care

should be exercised if role-plays are to be used with emotive subject matter. This is so because the additional emotional resources demanded by this type of story might give rise to a situation in which the students' emotional responses get beyond the control of the trainer.

Suggestions for Further Research

This research has developed Bruner's (1986) work by opening up a number of questions relating to storytelling. In particular, it has demonstrated that story form, function and constraint are intricately bound together in social context. In this sense, it has developed a framework against which the use of stories in social context might be examined and has opened up a number of interesting areas that might be addressed in further research.

This research has explored the general constraints governing the use of stories in this classroom. Within the parameters set by these constraints there are likely to be a number of stories that could be used. Further research might explore why one particular story is used rather than another at any given moment in the classroom process.

In addition to this, the research has focused on the use of stories from the perspective of the trainers. Matters may have appeared quite different if the same classroom had been examined from the students'

points of view. Evidence in previous literature supporting the idea that stories can influence memory (for example, Fielding, 1988, Mercer 1995, Middleton and Edwards, 1990 and Paivio and Begg, 1971) suggests that one of the issues that might be explored from this angle would be the memorability of stories.

The generalisability of these findings to other kinds of training that take place in the same setting might also be explored in further research. For example, if stories are used extensively in training for inspectors and sergeants, experience of the work place is likely to be different to that of probationers in at least two ways. First, their experiences as supervisors will probably be different to those of constables working as practitioners. Secondly, they are likely to have greater breadth of experience in police work by virtue of their having been doing the job for a longer period of time. Any stories used in the training of such supervisors would probably need to take account of the added supervisory dimension. In addition to this, the willingness of supervisors to suspend disbelief when certain types of story are used may differ from probationers because their breadth of experience may have given them greater familiarity with its limitations.

Further research might also shed some light on the generalisability of these findings to other police contexts in which stories are told. Here it might be expected that the functions served by the telling of a story in, for example, a police canteen would differ from those of the classroom. This

is so because the storyteller's motivation is likely to be contingent on the demands of the setting. In police canteens, the demand for entertainment and personal justification may well feature rather more highly than in than in the classroom.

In addition, further research might explore the generality of these findings to other vocational settings. While previous literature would seem to suggest that stories are used in at least some other vocational settings (for example, Dingwall, 1977 as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis), the extent of their use is by no means certain. When this matter is considered, it seems likely that differences in social context will have an impact on the degree to which stories are used and on the functions served by their use in any given vocational setting.

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Appendices

Appendix A A glossary of terms found in the data to this study.

Appendix B A transcript of a lesson involving the use of case studies included as an example of data.

Appendix C A transcript of a lesson involving the use of a role-play included as an example of data.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN DATA

A.B.H.	An assault that results in Actual Bodily Harm being inflicted on the victim (actual bodily harm includes injuries such as bruising, minor cuts etc.)
Baton	The side-handled police batons commonly used in America and issued to British police in 1994.
(a) Bench	A group of three lay magistrates that may be found sitting at either a magistrates' or a youth court.
Bodies	People arrested by the police (prisoners).
Butterworths	Butterworth's Police Law. A legal textbook commonly used by the police.
(a) Caution	Where a person suspected of having committed a criminal offence is told that

he/she does not have to say anything unless they want to do so.

Custody Officer

The sergeant with special responsibility for people whom are arrested and brought into a police station.

(An) Exhibit

A document/ item of property to be adduced before a court as evidence.

(The) Five oh nine four

A register of premises that have been searched by the police that is held at the police station.

G.B.H.

Grievous Bodily Harm. A serious assault in which some serious injury (i.e. broken bones) is inflicted.

Hendon

The Metropolitan Police Training Establishment in Hendon, North West London.

Heckler Koch M.P.5

The type of machine gun now carried by some police officers.

I.D.O.	An Identification Officer. A member of the police civil staff employed to examine crime scenes.
Nick	To steal something or to arrest someone.
Nicked	When used in respect of a person this means arrested by police, when used in respect of property it means stolen.
Off Weaps	Offensive weapons.
Old Bill	Police
P.C.	Police Constable.
P.N.C.	The Police National Computer.
(a) P.R.	A personal radio.
Probationer	A police officer who has completed his or her initial training but has not yet completed a total of two years police service.

(a) Ringer	A stolen vehicle that has had its identity altered so as to appear to be legitimate.
Ringling	The act of altering a stolen vehicle's identity so that it appears to be legitimate.
Section Seventeen	The police power to enter premises, to arrest people for certain offences or to protect life, under section 17 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984.
Section Eighteen	The offence under section 18 of the Offences Against the Person Act, 1861 of causing Grievous Bodily Harm (see G.B.H. above) or wounding with intent to do so or with intent to resist or prevent arrest. This is the most serious of the offences of assault to fall just short of the homicide offences.
Section Twenty	The offence under section 20 of the Offences Against the Person Act, 1861 of causing Grievous Bodily Harm (see G.B.H. above) or wounding by a malicious act although without having the intent to inflict such serious injury.

SOCO	Scenes Of Crime Officer: a civilian employee of the police specialising in the preservation of forensic evidence left at the scene of crime by the alleged perpetrator of that crime.
S.O. Nineteen	A department consisting of police officers who have been specially trained to carry firearms.
Stipendary magistrate	A professionally qualified magistrate that sits on his/her own.
(a) Suspect	A person suspected of having committed a criminal offence.
Wedge	Money.
White Notes	Printed resource material given to the probationary constables while at the Training School and throughout their course of attendances at the local training unit.

Appendix B

“Charlie 6” Class:
A Transcript of a Lesson Involving the use of
Case Studies

This lesson took place on 24.4.95 and commenced at 1.45 p.m.

Monday afternoon (immediately after lunch) on the sixth and final attendance of Charlie Class. The trainer is a male police constable (N.W.). All Charlie Class are present. The trainer and the students are all in shirt sleeves. The classroom layout is as shown in the supporting material.

We join the class just as the trainer enters the room.

- | | | | |
|----|----------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Trainer | Right/ does anyone mind if we open | Trainer opens |
| 2. | | a window? | a window. |
| 3. | Students | (.....) | |
| 4. | Trainer | Right this afternoon what we'll be | |
| 5. | | looking at is this criminal | |
| 6. | | trespass and in particular the | |
| 7. | | Criminal Law Act section six seven | |
| 8. | | and eight/ has anyone actually | |
| 9. | | used any of these offences ever? | |

10. Student (.....)
(D.H.)
11. Trainer Sorry?
12. Student I'm sorry we did have one where
13. (D.H.) there were (.....)
14. Trainer Right yeah go on
15. Student (.....)
(D.H.)
16. Trainer Anyone else?// It talks in your
17. notes about occasions which are
18. deemed "Criminal Law Act Scenarios"
19. does it not?/ and there are three
20. points that you should consider
21. which would deem each scenario to
22. be a Criminal Law Act scenario/
23. what would the first one be?
24. Student Any other offences
(L.M.)
25. Trainer Any other offences
26. Student (.....)
27. Student Person outside attempting entry
- Trainer takes
a pen from
the flip-chart
stand and turns
over a sheet
of flip-chart
pad.
- Trainer writes
on flip-chart
(see flip-chart
1 in supporting
material).

28.	Student	(.....)	Trainer continues
			to write on
29.	Trainer	Right so if we apply those	flip-chart.
30.		criteria to each scenario that we	When he has
31.		come up against/ what are we to	finished he
32.		do if these three apply?	points to the
			flip-chart.
33.	Student	Call the guv'nor	
	(L.M.)		
34.	Trainer	Yeah/ what are we supposed to do	
35.		then?	
36.	Student	Call an Inspector// What's that	Trainer adds
37.	(S.M.)	then?	"Call **" to
			flip-chart 1.
38.	Trainer	Two pips Steve two pips// erm why	Students laugh.
39.		are we supposed to call an	
40.		Inspector? Now one of the reasons	
41.		why I'm going to go through the	
42.		legislation is that after walking	
43.		out this here room you might well	
44.		have a better idea of the	
45.		legislation that erm the duty	
46.		officer and secondly it might not	
47.		always be that the duty officer	
48.		can attend the scene and he can	
49.		quite easily get out of it himself	
50.		anyway by saying "Do you know the	

51.		Criminal Law/ do you know about	
52.		the Criminal Law Act?"/ You of	
53.		course having been here on your	
54.		last attendance will say "Yes" and	
55.		he will probably say "Well get on	
56.		with it" so that is why we're	
57.		going to have a look at the	
58.		legislation erm technically I'd	
59.		advise you to always do that to	Trainer points
60.		seek some advice if these three	to "Call **"
61.		apply call an Inspector/ any	on flip-chart
62.		questions so far?// No?// Section	1.
63.		six of the Criminal Law Act	
64.		nineteen?	
65.	Student (L.M.)	Seventy seven	Trainer starts to write on white board
66.	Trainer	Points to prove/ any person who	1 (see supporting material).
67.	Student (W.R.)	Uses or threatens [Trainer continues to write on white board
68.	Trainer	[Yeah [1.
69.	Student	[unlawful	
70.	(W.R.)	violence	
71.	Trainer	Yeah there's a tiny bit before that	

72.	Student	For the purpose of securing entry (M.K.)	
73.	Trainer	No	
74.	Student	Any persons (S.M.)	
75.	Trainer	All right well there's a tiny bit	
76.		before that	
77.	Student	Without lawful authority (M.K.)	
78.	Trainer	Without lawful authority// a	Trainer adds
79.		person who without lawful	"Without lawful
80.		authority uses or threatens	authority"
81.		violence for the purpose of?/	to white board
82.		Someone said it a minute ago	1 (see supporting material)
83.	Student	Securing entry (M.K.)	
84.	Trainer	Securing entry	Trainer adds "Securing entry"
85.	Student	For himself or another	to white board 1.
86.	Trainer	Yeah// for himself or another/	Trainer adds
87.		yeah	"For himself or another to white board
88.	Student	The person outside knows	

	(C.H.)		1.
89.	Trainer	Yeah// so when we talk about	Trainer adds
90.		"lawful authority" what are we	"Person outside
91.		talking about?	knows" and
			"Person in
92.	Student	To arrest someone for an	premises is
93.	(L.M.)	arrestable offence	opposed to
			entry" to white
94.	Trainer	Sorry?	board 1.
95.	Student	Someone inside may be wanted for	
96.	(L.M.)	an arrestable offence	
97.	Trainer	Yeah	
98.	Student	Section seventeen	[
	(S.M.)		[
			[
99.	Student		[Like a burglar
100.	(L.M.)	inside	
101.	Trainer	So like you/ you for instance in	
102.		your powers as a constable are	
103.		using your	[
			[
104.	Student		[Section seventeen
	(S.M.)		
105.	Trainer	Yeah O.K. hadn't thought about	Trainer adds
106.		that actually but yeah// what	"S 17" to

120.	Trainer	Yeah eviction orders	Trainer adds
			"Eviction orders"
121.	Student	Bailiffs	followed by
			"Bailiffs"
122.	Trainer	Bailiffs	to white board
			1.
123.	Student	(.....) the occupier who comes	
124.		back from holiday	
125.	Trainer	O.K. right O.K. we'll come on to	
126.		that later but that doesn't	
127.		necessarily qualify under " Lawful	
128.		authority "/ qualify for the	
129.		purpose of entering	
130.	Student	(.....)	
131.	Trainer	Right so any person who without	
132.		lawful authority who doesn't come	
133.		under any of the points uses or	Trainer points
134.		threatens violence	to white board
			1.
135.	Student	(.....)	
136.	Trainer	Sorry?	
137.	Student	(.....)	
138.	Trainer	Yeah towards?	
139.	Student	To the person [

- (A.A.) [
- [
140. Trainer [Yeah [
- [
141. Student [or property
- (A.A.)
142. Trainer So uses or threatens violence/ now
143. the Criminal Law Act makes a
144. distinction between violence and
145. force/ can anyone perhaps give me
146. an example of force which for the
147. purposes of the Criminal Law Act
148. would be (.....)
149. Student Smashing a door down (.....)
150. Trainer So smashing a door down would be what?
151. Student (.....)
152. Trainer Well it doesn't even go into
153. specifics to that degree/ what
154. would force be then?
155. Student (...) putting the key in the door
156. perhaps (.....)
157. Trainer So for instance if you get someone
158. who enters the premises merely by
159. using force i.e. with a key or

160.	climbing in through an already	
161.	open window/ opening a window/ he	
162.	doesn't use or threaten violence	
163.	therefore they don't commit the	
164.	offence so we are looking at	
165.	people who are using or	
166.	threatening violence towards	
167.	persons or property outside the	
168.	address or say that they used	
169.	violence say that they smashed the	
170.	door down or broke the window or	
171.	forced the door but there doesn't	
172.	necessarily have to be any damage/	
173.	they could just have	
174.	shoulder-barged the door and that	
175.	would still be violence even	
176.	though there might be no damage	
177.	caused/ Does that make sense?//	
178.	You can disagree with me if you	
179.	like I don't mind/ is everyone	
180.	happy?/ Right so a person can be	Students laugh.
181.	guilty of this offence for example	
182.	even if they don't actually gain	
183.	entry because they can threaten	
184.	violence for the purpose of	
185.	gaining entry/ you can technically	
186.	have an offence of section six	
187.	without actual entry being gained/	
188.	let's move on to this one "For the	Trainer points
189.	purpose of securing entry for	to white board.
190.	himself or another"/ yeah fairly	

191. straightforward it's not just for
192. himself so you could get this with
193. you know someone's agent or// and
194. there is a person on the premises
195. opposed to someone's entry// and
196. the person outside knows that the
197. person inside is opposed to the
198. entry/ now what do you think this
199. piece of legislation was designed
200. for?

201. Students Squatters

202. Trainer Yeah basically/ can anyone think
203. of any examples from their
204. everyday policing where a section
205. six of the Criminal Law Act
206. offence might apply?

207. Student Domestics
 (L.M.)

208. Trainer Have you used it at all in
209. domestics?

210. Student We've been told not to
 (L.M.)

211. Trainer Who tells you not to?

212. Student The duty officer (.....)

- (L.M.)
213. Trainer Why's that then?
214. Student He says to use breach of the
215. (L.M.) peace instead (....) because our
216. policy is to use breach of the
217. peace
218. Student (....) in Streatham (.....)
- (A.A.)
219. Trainer I actually mean you can consider
220. this when dealing with domestic
221. situations erm
222. Student (.....)
- (S.M.)
223. Trainer Sorry?
224. Student (.....)
- (S.M.)
225. Trainer Yeah erm of course you've got to
226. remember when you're dealing with
227. a domestic situation that if the
228. two people are merely arguing
229. inside the address well then
230. clearly a section six does not
231. apply so you're more looking

232. towards the scenario of an
233. ex-husband or ex-boyfriend who's
234. away/ you know sort of separated
235. and then comes back to the address
236. and erm you know starts to
237. threaten his wife or girl friend
238. or whatever for the purposes of
239. securing entry/ but I mean I
240. phoned the C.P.S. about this to
241. ask them whether they would
242. consider prosecuting for a section
243. six Criminal Law Act offence in a
244. domestic situation and they said
245. obviously each case would be taken
246. on its merits but they are they do
247. and are quite willing to prosecute
248. for an offence

249. Student With that then would you not maybe
250. (L.M.) need a witness statement?/ You
251. know what these women are like
252. they change their minds don't they?

Students laugh.

253. Trainer Do they?

254. Student Yeah all the time
(M.K.)

255. Student That's why breach is better
(A.A.)

256. Student Yeah I mean women in domestics
 257. (L.M.) tend to do that (....) but if it's
 258. breach of the peace it's up to us
 259. isn't it?

260. Trainer Yeah it is but often/ often you
 261. can get evidence of this from
 262. yourself by turning up at the
 263. scene// Now what's the power of
 264. arrest for this then?

265. Student A constable in uniform
 (L.M.)

266. Trainer In uniform yeah/ has reasonable
 267. cause to suspect that a person is
 268. guilty of this offence/ so does it
 269. necessarily need victim evidence
 270. if you're there to erm prosecute
 271. for section six anyway?// It
 272. depends on the circumstances

273. Student It would make it a bit stronger
 274. (L.M.) though wouldn't it?

275. Trainer Oh yeah sure

276. Student (...) oppose entry though {
 (A.A.) {
 {
 277. Student { (....)

(S.M.)

278. Trainer Well yeah but I presume that that
279. would be fairly obvious from the
280. circumstances that you're
281. attending// What do you reckon?
282. Student It's a bit long-winded when you
283. (S.M.) could use other things (.....)
284. Student Do beach it's better to take them
285. (L.M.) away than just to let them get on
286. with it rather than wait and see
287. (.....)
288. Trainer I mean O.K. so what public order
289. offence would you consider using?
290. Student Section four
291. Trainer Or?
292. Student Section three or five
(S.M.)
293. Trainer Yeah// So that is basically the
294. Criminal Law Act take it if you
295. want and use it in domestics/ as
296. I say the C.P.S. are willing to
297. prosecute in domestic situations

298. Student Are they if the person inside wont
299. (D.H.) go to court?

300. Trainer I don't know I didn't ask them
301. that but erm I mean just because
302. the person you feel doesn't
303. necessarily want to stand there
304. and substantiate the allegation
305. that doesn't stop you from
306. arresting to start with if she
307. does then refuse to co-operate
308. then (.....)

309. Student (.....) Students laugh.

310. Trainer Yeah see I mean the thing is as
311. you rightly say Chris the section
312. six can be committed by a person
313. who returns off holiday and erm
314. finds that squatters have moved
315. into their house and then erm
316. rushes in and breaks the door
317. down in order to evict the
318. squatters/ they would technically
319. commit an offence under section
320. six however there is a defence to
321. this which is / yeah for the
322. person to prove that they are a
323. displaced residential occupier or?

324. Student (.. ..)

325.	Trainer	Sorry?/ A displaced residential	Trainer adds
326.		occupier or a?// or a?/ protected?	"DRO" and then
327.		No?/ or yeah here you are a	"Protected
328.		protected intended occupier/ now	intended
		occupier"	
329.		that is to say that there is a	to white board
330.		defence upon charge so that it's	1.
331.		not necessarily a complete negation	
332.		of the arrest	
333.	Student	(.....)	
334.	Trainer	This defence?/ Right the reason is	
335.		and I'll come onto section seven	
336.		in a minute is that if the	
337.		displaced residential occupier or	
338.		the protected intended occupier	
339.		go about things in a lawful way	
340.		i.e. section six and then ask the	
341.		squatters to leave the squatters	
342.		then commit an offence under	
343.		section seven/ so the proper way	
344.		of dealing with it is to call the	
345.		old bill so that they can prove	
346.		they're one of these points asking	Trainer points
347.		the squatters to leave (.....)	to white board.
348.		and if the squatters refuse to	
349.		leave they commit an offence under	
350.		section seven/ however if you get	
351.		a displaced residential occupier	

352. who has committed a section six
 353. offence before you get there erm
 354. you might want to consider erm/
 355. you know you might want to
 356. consider arresting them

357. Student What happens if they say "No I
 358. (D.H.) asked them to leave" (.....)

359. Student Can they only use this defence in
 360. (C.H.) your presence?

361. Trainer No I mean this is his defence on
 362. charge right so I mean for the
 363. facts/ when you turn up he or she
 364. has committed this section six of
 365. the Criminal Law Act offence erm
 366. so technically they've committed
 367. the offence and therefore they
 368. make themselves liable to arrest/
 369. they have this defence they have
 370. this defence but that doesn't
 371. negate your power of arrest just
 372. because they're one of these/
 372. they've committed the offence you
 373. can still arrest them/ it'll be
 374. their defence on charge that they
 375. are a displaced residential
 376. occupier it'll be up to the C.P.S.
 377. then whether to proceed with it or
 378. not/ erm most squatters know their

Trainer points
 to white board.

379. rights and know whether erm you
380. know whether a displaced
381. residential occupier has in fact
382. committed a section six of the
383. Criminal Law Act offence/ so for
384. your own safety you might want to
385. pursue an arrest or of course you
386. can go by way of the new case
387. disposal/ but erm probably to
388. cover yourselves if a section six
389. offence has taken place well you
390. really ought to be considering the
391. appropriate course of action/ I
392. know that it sounds heavy handed
393. but

394. Student Couldn't you go back and sort it
395. (S.M.) out and then tell them the
396. appropriate course of action to
397. take?

398. Trainer Right well this one erm (.....)
399. one at all and we're going to look
400. at displaced residential occupier
401. later on erm (.....) I mean to
402. sum it up it has to be their
403. residence that they live in so
404. that (.....)

405. Student (.....)

406.	Trainer	Yeah// This one takes a bit longer	Trainer points
407.		to prove	to "Protected
			intended
			occupier"
408.	Student	(....) do you have to go to court	on white board.
409.	(L.M.)	or something?	
410.	Trainer	What for the squatters?	
411.	Student	Yeah	
	(L.M.)		
412.	Trainer	If you're not one of these yeah//	Trainer points
413.		in actual fact there was a case	to white board.
414.		on "London Tonight" a couple of	
415.		days ago about some squatters who	
416.		moved into a car park/ what	
417.		happened is this underground car	
418.		park erm/ the company had gone	
419.		bust and moved out of their	
420.		building and underneath there was	
421.		this car park obviously where all	
422.		the employees used to park and the	
423.		squatters have taken over this car	
424.		park and were charging people to	
425.		park/ and because the company	
426.		aren't a displaced residential	
427.		occupier are they? They're not a	
428.		protected intended occupier	
429.		because they're not intending on	
430.		living there erm of course the	

431. company have got to go away and
 432. get an eviction order themselves
 433. (.....) they were charging about
 434. four quid a day
435. Student There **must** be an offence there
 (A.A.)
436. Trainer Such as?
437. Student (.....)
 (A.A.)
438. Trainer Any questions about section six?/
 439. No?/ Right section seven then/
 440. it's very straight forward/ ahead
 441. go over
442. Student Section seven?
 (L.M.)
443. Trainer Have you not had section seven in
 444. your notes?
445. Students No
446. Student It was just comparing the sections
 447. (L.M.) (.....)
448. Trainer Right oh O.K. well then we'll put
 449. it up for you on the old overhead
- Students and
 trainer laugh.
- Trainer wipes
 white board
 clean.
- Trainer puts

450.	// there it is// "any person who	overhead slide
451.	who is on any premises as a	1 on the projector
452.	trespasser after having entered as	
453.	such is guilty of an offence if he	
454.	fails to leave those premises on	
455.	being required to do so by or on	
456.	behalf of a displaced residential	
457.	occupier or an individual who is a	
458.	protected intended occupier"/ so	
459.	that covers for example the old	
460.	person who comes home off holiday	
461.	to find that squatters have moved	
462.	in to their premises their house/	
463.	they are a displaced residential	
464.	occupier and call you down and	
465.	satisfy you that you are that they	
466.	are a displaced residential	
467.	occupier and that that is their	
468.	house/ that the person who is on	
469.	the premises is in fact a	
470.	trespasser i.e. they haven't got	
471.	any permission to stay there erm/	
472.	so then the displaced residential	
473.	occupier asks the trespassers to	
474.	leave and the trespassers then	
475.	fail to leave well then they	
476.	commit an offence under section	
477.	seven i.e. being inside the	
478.	premises for which of course you	
479.	have a power of arrest for/ as I	
480.	say most squatters know their	

481.		rights and what they can and	
482.		cannot do and when you come down	
483.		and confront them with a	
484.		displaced residential occupier	
485.		they'll probably know and almost	
486.		certainly leave/ that's basically	Trainer switches
487.		the offence/ the problem of course	off the overhead
488.		might occur is when the person who	projector.
489.		has swapped homes comes back off	
490.		holiday for instance and they	
491.		<i>come back and the person who</i>	
492.		they've swapped with you know as	
493.		the house exchange is still there	
494.		and they refuse to leave then this	
495.		displaced residential occupier	
496.		asks them to leave and they refuse	
497.		to/ have they committed a section	
498.		seven?	
499.	Student	They might not because they	
500.	(L.M.)	haven't entered as a trespasser	
501.	Trainer	Correct that is the correct answer	
502.		so they wouldn't commit a section	
503.		seven so therefore the displaced	
504.		<i>residential occupier would have to</i>	
505.		go away and get an eviction order	
506.	Student	(.....)	
	(S.M.)		

507. Trainer No the person has to go away and
508. get an eviction order because the
509. person doesn't commit an offence
510. under section seven

511. Student That's it?
 (S.M.)

512. Trainer Yeah so let's go back to the
513. person who comes back from
514. holiday and there are squatters
515. who are in there as trespassers/
516. then the displaced residential
517. occupier can ask them to leave
518. and if they refuse to leave the
519. squatters are in play for section
520. seven which gives you a power of
521. arrest/ and of course it gives you
522. a power of entry as well

523. Student (.....) this mate of mine
524. (S.M.) who brought a flat with somebody
525. else and the flat was empty and
526. squatters moved in

527. Trainer No he wouldn't be a displaced
528. residential occupier basically
529. because he hasn't been living
530. there/ he might even commit a
531. section six because even if a
532. person has a right of ownership

533. or you know a financial interest
534. in premises it doesn't mean to say
535. he's going to become a displaced
536. residential occupier or a
537. protected intended occupier

538. Student (.....)

539. Trainer Oh is it/ so erm where was I?

540. Student (.....)

541. Trainer Yeah so just because they have a
542. right erm a financial interest or
543. a right to ownership in the
544. property it doesn't mean to say
545. that A they're going to be a D.R.O.
546. or a P.R.O. erm nor does that give
547. them lawful authority to enter the
548. erm premises

549. Student What would happen if police

550. (S.R.) attended (.....)

Students laugh.

551. Trainer Erm yeah

552. Student (.....) apparently (.....)

553. Trainer Yeah yeah that's right erm/ it is
554. an option I suppose but one that I
555. suppose but one that I don't think

556. you ought to explore

557. Student (.....)

558. Student (.....) that's the first thing

559. (S.M.) that's the first thing that comes

560. to mind isn't it if you've got

561. squatters in your house you're

562. going to think "Well I'm going to

563. get into that house (.....)

564. criminal law (.....) if the

565. occupier is there (.....)

566. Trainer Well I mean to be honest with you

567. erm how many times have you come

568. across a section seven Criminal

569. Law Act scenario in your service?/

570. How many times have I in my

571. service which is about eight years

572. come across a section seven

573. Criminal Law Act scenario?/ None/

574. but it is to make you aware of the

575. fact that if it does arise/ then

576. this is your course of action

577. Student (....) you've still got your

578. (S.M.) powers of arrest (.....)

579. Trainer But the most common one is the

580. person whose come back off holiday

581. to find that squatters have moved

582. into his house/ that's the most
583. common one and that wont be a
584. problem to prove really that
585. they're a displaced residential
586. occupier/ you can check in the
587. voter's yeah/ it'll be obvious
588. that they live there or fairly
589. obvious that they live there and
590. you can ask him him or her to ask
591. the squatters to leave and if the
592. squatters don't leave go in and
593. arrest them/ it's relatively
594. straight forward// there was a big
595. erm a big barney up in Brixton a
596. few erm about a year ago in fact
597. with squatters erm and because
598. what happened was exactly the same
599. scenario they occupied this
600. premises and a few officers from
601. Brixton decided they were going to
602. jump in and erm it was a derelict
603. house/ there wasn't a displaced
604. residential occupier/ the
605. squatters were causing a
606. disturbance and they decided that
607. they were going to arrest them for
608. obstruction and there was a huge
609. sort of fight where police got
610. pelted with missiles (.....) some
611. of them were charged with erm

612. Student I bet none of them got convicted
(A.A.)

613. Trainer None of them got convicted at all/
614. they all got off/ yeah you know
615. this is erm here for your own use
616. if you come across this scenario
617. in the circumstances that we've
618. mentioned/ of course the people
619. who then refuse to leave do have
620. certain defences that they
621. believed that the person who was
622. asking them to leave was not a
623. displaced residential occupier or
624. a protected intended occupier or
625. a person acting on their behalf/
626. that the person requesting them to
627. leave failed to produce a written
628. statement or certificate to comply
629. with the Act which we'll come on
630. to when asked to so so by the
631. accused/ that the premises are or
632. form premises used mainly for
633. non-residential purposes/ that he
634. was not in any part of the
635. premises used solely or mainly for
636. residential purposes/ so basically
637. what we're saying is that section
638. seven does not and this should
639. hopefully be obvious to you apply
640. to factory premises car parks

641. (.....)
642. Student There was a story going around at
 643. (D.C.) one stage where two people went
 644. into this place (.....
 645.)
646. Trainer Right has he entered as the
 647. premises as a trespasser?
648. Student No
 (D.C.)
649. Trainer So there's no section seven
 650. offence there because he hasn't
 651. entered as a trespasser
652. Student (.....) Students laugh.
653. Trainer So there's Steve here who would
 654. arrest him for abstracting
 655. electricity
656. Student (.....)
657. Trainer And he's paying rent to him?
658. Student Well this guy was paying rent for
 (D.C.) this guy (.....)
659. Trainer Oh I see

660. Student (.....) he was going on (.....)

661. (D.C.) did he have squatters rights? [

[

662. Student [(.

663. (L.M.)) he must have some rights

664. Trainer Well I mean from what you're

665. saying to me I don't think he's

666. committed he certainly hasn't

667. committed a section seven offence

668. because he hasn't entered as a

669. trespasser erm/ so if someone

670. then comes along who has (.....)

671. and then the council come along

672. and wanted obviously to do the

673. flat up just to let it to someone

674. else erm they'd have to get an

675. eviction order

676. Student It could be a deception though

677. (L.M.) couldn't it? It could be a

678. deception?

679. Trainer How many times have you phoned the

680. council and told them that

681. someone's sub-letting and erm (..

682.)/ at the end of the day

683. if he wants to remain there

684. there's very little that can be

685. done about it

686. Student (.....) Students laugh.

687. Student (.....)
(D.C.)

688. Trainer If he wanted to remain there I
689. suggest that you couldn't have
690. done very much about it if he
691. wanted to stay

692. Student (.....)

693. Trainer Is everyone happy about section
694. seven?// Do you want to go and
695. stretch your legs for five minutes?
696. Let's see it's about half past so
697. be back at twenty too

Students and trainer leave the classroom.

Students and trainer return to the classroom.

698. Trainer Right you know when we talked
699. about protected intended occupiers
700. and displaced residential
701. occupiers/ this here is the flow Trainer puts
702. chart for a displaced or protected overhead slide

703. occupier/ so that a person who is 2 on the
 704. a protected intended occupier/ can overhead
 705. everyone see that all right?/ erm projector (see
 706. the person must require the supporting
 707. premises for their own occupation material)
 708. that's fairly straightforward/
 709. they are excluded by a person who
 710. entered as a trespasser and they
 711. are a freehold or leaseholder with
 712. not less than two years to run
 713. does everyone know what I mean by
 714. "freehold" and "leasehold" ?/
 715. **freehold** is that like you own the
 716. land and everything that's on it
 717. erm **leasehold** is that you own the
 718. building but not the land so all
 719. the land will be owned by someone
 720. else/ and they will lease it out
 721. so you have to prove that you are
 722. a freeholder or a leaseholder with
 723. not less than two years to run or
 724. a tenancy or a licence granted
 725. from a housing authority/ you
 726. to have one of those three things
 727. yeah? With more than two years to
 728. run

729. Student Do you have to have one of those
 730. three things (.....)

731. Trainer With more than two years to run//

732. Sorry that's actually with less
733. than three years to run it used to
734. be twenty one years but now it's
735. gone down to two if you're
736. interested

737. Student (.....) Students laugh.
(S.M.)

738. Trainer It's changed to two/ so you've got
739. to prove the person's got to prove
740. that he's one of these three things
741. normally they're going to be one of Trainer points
742. these ones freehold or leasehold to slide 2
743. interest or erm you know your on the overhead
744. licence et cetera/ if you are a projector.
745. freeholder or leaseholder you
746. must have a written statement
747. which describes your interest in
748. the premises the fact that your
749. residency is required which is
750. signed by you and by a J.P. or
751. commissioner for oaths// obviously
752. you probably know for yourself the
752. difference between a written
753. statement for the court and (....)
754. the last one a written statement
755. from the housing authority or
756. certificate so it's odds on that
757. you've got someone who states
758. they're a protected intended

759. occupier and if they haven't gone
760. through this process it's going to
761. take them a bit of a while to get
762. all these documents together to
763. prove who they are/ as you say as
764. we were discussing downstairs when
765. you were at tea it's more likely
766. that when you get a section seven
767. scenario it'll be as a protected
768. intended occupier rather than a
769. displaced residential one for the
770. very reason that squatters don't
771. normally move into premises that
772. they know are already occupied/ at
773. the end of the day they know what
774. they're doing if it's occupied
775. they know they're going to get
776. thrown out under section seven/
777. it's more likely to be a scenario
778. where they've moved into an empty
779. flat or empty premises and then
780. the protected intended occupier
781. comes along later and that's when
782. we have to act under section seven

783. Student What about when it's council
784. (S.M.) property and you've got the
785. council tenant sort of (.....)
786. if it's a private house with a
787. private tenant what do they do at
788. (.....)

789. Trainer Well what they then do is they
790. then come and see you and they
791. wave this piece of paper in front
792. of you and erm then you go around
793. together and (.....) under
794. section seven/ so this is the more
795. common scenario if you like (....)
796. so/ but you've got to have that
797. written statement there if they
798. can't produce that written
799. statement you're stuck you've
800. got to wait until they come back
801. with it/ any questions?// Right
802. displaced residential occupiers/
803. you have to prove or they have to
804. prove that they were occupying the
805. the premises as a residence
806. immediately before/ it's quite
807. straightforward/ a person who was
808. occupying the premises as a
809. residence immediately prior to
810. being excluded by the person who
811. entered the premises as a
812. trespasser// so erm that's section
813. six and section seven of the
814. Criminal Law Act protected
815. intended occupiers and displaced
816. residential occupiers/ is there
817. anything you want to know about
818. the Criminal Law Act?/ Because

819. there is one other offence which
820. is section?

821. Student Eight

822. Trainer What is section eight?//

823. Trespassing with weapon of offence/

824. what is a weapon of offence?

825. Student (.....)
 (L.M.)

826. Trainer Any article that is made adapted

827. or intended/ made adapted or

828. intended for use in injury or

829. incapacitation that is section

830. eight// Would you now feel

831. confident about dealing with

832. Criminal Law Act scenarios?//

833. Yeah?/ **Excellent** because I have

834. some Criminal Law Act scenarios

835. for you to deal with so if you'd

836. like to get yourselves into pairs/

837. now if you get yourselves erm

838. there's a list of instructions

839. (.....) so if I give

840. you twenty minutes back at quarter

841. past/ you can go when you like/ I

842. would appreciate it if you didn't

843. actually write on the sheets on

844. the sheets at all

Trainer hands
out the
"scenarios"
to the students
(see supporting
material)

Students take the "scenarios" and leave the classroom.

Trainer leaves the classroom.

Trainer and students return to the classroom.

845.

Trainer

How did you find the erm scenarios?
846.

Student

Straightforward

(S.M.)
847.

Trainer

Straightforward?
848.

Student

Yeah

(S.M.)
849.

Trainer

Yeah/ right then// number one/

Trainer reads
850.

does the criteria for a Criminal

"scenario"
851.

Law Act Scenario apply?

from the sheet
- of paper (see
852.

Student

Yeah

supporting
- (L.M.)

material)
853.

Trainer

Why?

854.

Student

(.....)

[

(L.M.)

[

[

855.

Student

[(.....)

(S.M.)

856.

Trainer

What would you do in those

857.

circumstances?

858.

Student

Call an inspector

(L.M.)

859.

Trainer

Are there any offences under the

860.

Criminal Law Act?

861.

Student

Erm no

[

(L.M.)

[

[

862.

Student

[No

863.

Trainer

No erm there's no offence under

864.

the Criminal Law Act although it

865.

of course a Criminal Law Act

866.

scenario (.....) right so

867.

(.....) scenario two/ right is

868.

it a Criminal Law Act scenario?

869.

Student

No (.....)

[

(M.K.)

[

[

Trainer reads

"Scenario"

from sheet

of paper (see

supporting

material)

870. Student [(.....)
(S.M.)
871. Trainer Is there any Criminal Law Act
872. offence?
873. Student No it's just trespass she's within
874. (S.M.) her rights to throw him out
875. Trainer So she's **definitely** within her
876. rights to throw him out?
877. Student No (.....) [(L.M.) [[
878. Student [(.....) Students laugh.
(A.A.)
879. Trainer Yeah O.K. seriously though any
880. offences?
881. Students (.....)
882. Student It is sort of it is civil trespass
883. Student (.....) [(S.M.) [[
884. Student [Have a chat with the
885. (D.H.) council (.....) ask them if they
886. know about it rather than (.....)

887.	Trainer	So if you were called to this	
888.		scenario what would you do?	
889.	Student	Ask him to leave to sort it out	
890.	(S.M.)	(.....)/ you know you'd	Students laugh.
891.		ask him to leave to sort it out	
892.	Trainer	So basically she doesn't commit	
893.		any offences under the Criminal	
894.		Law Act there's no reason why erm/	
895.		for you to take any action against	
896.		her so basically she stays where	
897.		she is/ is everyone happy with	
898.		that scenario?/ Scenario three	Trainer reads
899.		then// Is that a Criminal Law Act	"scenario"
900.		scenario?	from a sheet
			of paper (see
901.	Student	Yeah (.....)	supporting
	(S.M.)		material)
902.	Trainer	It is a Criminal Law Act scenario?	
903.	Student	Yeah	
	(S.M.)		
904.	Trainer	O.K. what would you do?	
905.	Student	No offences disclosed	
	(S.M.)		

906. Trainer No offences disclosed?
907. Student (.....) [
 (L.M.) [
 [
908. Student [(.....)
 (A.A.)
909. Student So when do they become trespassers
 910. (S.M.) then?
911. Student (.....)
912. Student So why are they still trespassers?
 (S.M.)
913. Trainer Sorry?
914. Student So why are they still trespassers?
 (S.M.)
915. Trainer They're not
916. Student They're not are they?
 (S.M.)
917. Trainer No/ a local company has closed Trainer reads
 918. down and on the last day they "scenario"
 919. barricade themselves in as a sort from a sheet
 920. of protest erm/ they haven't of paper (see
 921. entered as trespassers so they supporting

922.		cannot commit an offence under	material)
923.		the Criminal Law Act of nineteen	
924.		seventy seven it's not residential	
925.		premises so (.....) and they're	
926.		being peaceful so right erm	
927.		scenario four/ any offences	Trainer reads
928.		disclosed?	"scenario"
			from a sheet
929.	Student	No	of paper (see
	(L.M.)		supporting
			material)
930.	Trainer	Why not?	
931.	Student	(.....) [
	(L.M.)	[
		[
932.	Student	[(.....) he was unaware	
933.	Trainer	The answer to that question is erm	
934.		yeah part of the prosecution for	
935.		that offence would mean he had to	
936.		be aware so clearly he can't be	
937.		guilty of a section six Criminal	
938.		Law Act offence because he didn't	
939.		know// Right scenario five	Trainer reads
			"scenario"
940.	Student	(.....)	from a sheet
			of paper (see
941.	Trainer	So technically this isn't a	supporting
942.		Criminal Law Act scenario because	material)
943.		you'd be considering what offences?	

944. Student Assault affray [

(L.M.) [

[

945. Student [Affray using or

946. threatening violence

947. Trainer Yeah you could also consider what?

948. Are there any Criminal Law Act

949. offences disclosed?

950. Student Section six

(D.H.)

951. Trainer Have you got a section six there

952. or not?

953. Student (.....) [

(S.M.) [

[

954. Student [(.....)

955. Trainer Yeah that's what our policy says

956. is a Criminal Law Act scenario and

957. therefore you call an inspector to

958. come down and deal with it/ that

959. doesn't necessarily mean that erm

960. there wont be any Criminal Law Act

961. offences just because that doesn't

962. apply// Because I mean look if you

963. go through the wording of section

964. six the use or threat of violence
965. erm the use or threat of violence
966. for the purpose of securing/
967. violence knowing that there are
968. people on the premises that are
969. opposed to their entry

Trainer reads
"scenario"
from a piece
of paper (see
supporting
material)

988. to prove that on the fact that
 989. they're outside and that the
 990. person inside is refusing to give
 991. them access

992. Student (.....) [
 (L.M.) [
 [

993. Student [(.....)/ So Students laugh.
 994. (D.H.) you're saying that if someone was
 995. in this room that they (.....)

996. Trainer Erm I'm trying to think whether
 997. you could

998. Student It would be similar if you had a
 999. (D.H.) house that was divided into flats
 1000. (.....)

1001. Trainer Right yeah I mean the definition
 1002. of premises is slightly erm it
 1003. says any building or part of a
 1004. building or any (...) occupied
 1005. simply as a residence so for the
 1006. case of a building that is which
 1007. is divided into flats then clearly
 1008. someone who is on the stairwell so
 1009. has gained access through the
 1010. communal door and is then trying
 1011. to gain access to one of the flats
 1012. they still commit a section six of

1013. the Criminal Law Act offence but I
 1014. don't think that it would apply to
 1015. this kind of scenario where the
 1016. bouncers are stopping them getting
 1017. access to the disco floor/ you're
 1018. struggling a bit there

1019. Student (.....) Students laugh.
 (S.M.)

1020. Trainer Yeah thanks for that Steve so you
 1021. probably wouldn't be considering a
 1022. Criminal Law Act offence here in
 1023. scenario six but you can still
 1024. consider (.....)

1025. Student Wouldn't that be the same for
 1026. (D.C.) scenario five?

1027. Student (.....)

1028. Trainer Yeah/ scenario five yeah

1029. Student (.....)

1030. Trainer Yeah// erm in answer to your
 1031. question Dave he still commits
 1032. public order offences so you
 1033. could still arrest them for public
 1034. order but they could still commit
 1035. in fact they do commit section six

1036.		of the Criminal Law Act offences	
1037.		because they 're outside the	
1038.		premises threatening violence for	
1039.		the purposes of gaining entry	
1040.		knowing that the bouncers are	
1041.		opposed to their entry whereas in	
1042.		the following scenario scenario	
1043.		six they're already on the	
1044.		premises so they aren't	
1045.		threatening to gain access they're	
1046.		just threatening the bouncers so I	
1047.		don't think that you'd be	
1048.		considering a section six of the	
1049.		Criminal Law Act offence just	
1050.		public order// Right erm scenario	
1051.		seven "A family have returned from	Trainer reads
1052.		their holiday to find that	"scenario"
1053.		squatters have taken up residence	from a sheet
1054.		in their home and refuse to leave	of paper (see
1055.		and bolt all the doors and refuse	supporting
1056.		to allow the family to enter" is	material)
1057.		that a Criminal Law Act scenario?	
1058.	Student	Yeah	
	(A.A.)		
1059.	Trainer	Any Criminal Law Act offences?	
1060.	Student	Yeah (.....)	
1061.	Trainer	You might be considering that	

1062. offence
1063. Student (.....)
1064. Trainer Yeah or?
1065. Student (.....)
1066. Trainer Yeah but when the family return
1067. from holiday what are they?
1068. Students Displaced residential occupiers
1069. Trainer Right and therefore?
1070. Student You ask them to leave
(L.M.)
1071. Trainer Right and if they fail to leave?
1072. Student Nick them [
(L.M.) [
[
1073. Student [Section seven
1074. Trainer Right so technically it's for the
1075. family to prove that they are
1076. displaced residential occupiers
1077. and ask them to leave and if they
1078. refuse to leave then the squatters
1079. commit an offence under section

1080.	seven	
1081.	Student	Would the family need to prove
1082.	(S.M.)	they were displaced residential
1083.		occupiers?
1084.	Trainer	Yeah you would need to have some
1085.		proof that they were displaced
1086.		residential occupiers before you
1087.		went off and arrested them/ that
1088.		would be part of your reasonable
1089.		cause to suspect// Erm scenario
1090.		eight?
		Trainer reads
		"scenario"
1091.	Student	(.....) from a sheet
		of paper (see
		supporting
		material)
1092.	Trainer	I mean going back to your I'm
1093.		just thinking about your previous
1094.		question Steve/ part of the
1095.		defence for section seven is that
1096.		the squatters or people in the
1097.		premises didn't realise that erm
1098.		they were being asked to leave by
1099.		a displaced residential occupier
1100.		for the premises so to cover your
1101.		own backs you need to make sure
1102.		that the squatters are in no doubt
1103.		these people are displaced
1104.		residential occupiers so they're
1105.		going to have to bring to you/
1106.		they might have to bring some

1107. documents along/ scenario eight
1108. so what have we got here the
1109. family have returned home to find
1110. the squatters asleep/ so where
1111. do you go from there?
1112. Student (.....)
(S.M.)
1113. Trainer Sorry?
1114. Student (.....)
(S.M.)
1115. Trainer They haven't used or threatened
1116. violence to get in/ O.K. they've
1117. used force to get in i.e. they've
1118. put the key in the lock and turned
1119. it but there is no section six of
1120. the Criminal Law Act offence
1121. because they're on the premises
1122. lawfully (.....) of course they
1123. might still have a section seven/
1124. right so scenario nine
1125. Student It might be a burglary
(A.A.)
1126. Trainer Yeah he might be witnessing an
1127. offence of burglary/ what of
1128. course really has happened in this
- Trainer reads
"scenario"
from a sheet
of paper (see
supporting
material)

1129. case is that the man has gone and
 1130. picked up his children from school
 1131. and has come back to his house and
 1135. his wife has bolted the door from
 1136. the inside

1137. Student (.....)

1138. Trainer Sorry?/ He's looked through the
 1139. window and can see his hi-fi and
 1140. television near the door his stuff
 1141. that she's getting ready to throw
 1142. out/ that's what's really happened

1143. Student So are you saying that he knows
 1144. that story?

1145. Student (.....)
 (S.M.)

Students laugh.

1146. Trainer What nick the wife for burglary oh
 1147. hello Steve (.....)// would
 1148. this therefore be a **Criminal Law**
 1149. **Act** scenario?/ In the
 1150. circumstances I've outlined?

Students laugh.

1151. Student Yeah erm yeah (.....)
 (M.K.)

1152. Trainer Is it?

1153. Student Yeah there's no offences she's
 1154. (M.K.) inside and he's outside (.....)

1155. Trainer So are there any Criminal Law Act
 1156. offences present (.....)// Right
 1157. are there any Criminal Law Act
 1158. offences present in scenario ten?

1159. Student Yeah

1160. Student Yeah there is
 (M.K.)

1161. Trainer The erm people at the front door
 1162. they've erm threatened to use
 1163. violence for the purpose of
 1164. gaining entry knowing that the
 1165. person on the premises is opposed
 1166. to their entry/ in fact you can
 1167. erm apply section six of the
 1168. Criminal Law Act scenarios to
 1169. gate-crashers/ but of course
 1170. you've got to have the threat of
 1171. violence

1172. Student What about the person inside the
 1173. (L.M.) premises do they have to actually
 1174. get the threat

1175. Trainer Yeah use or threaten violence as
 1176. opposed to just feeling threatened

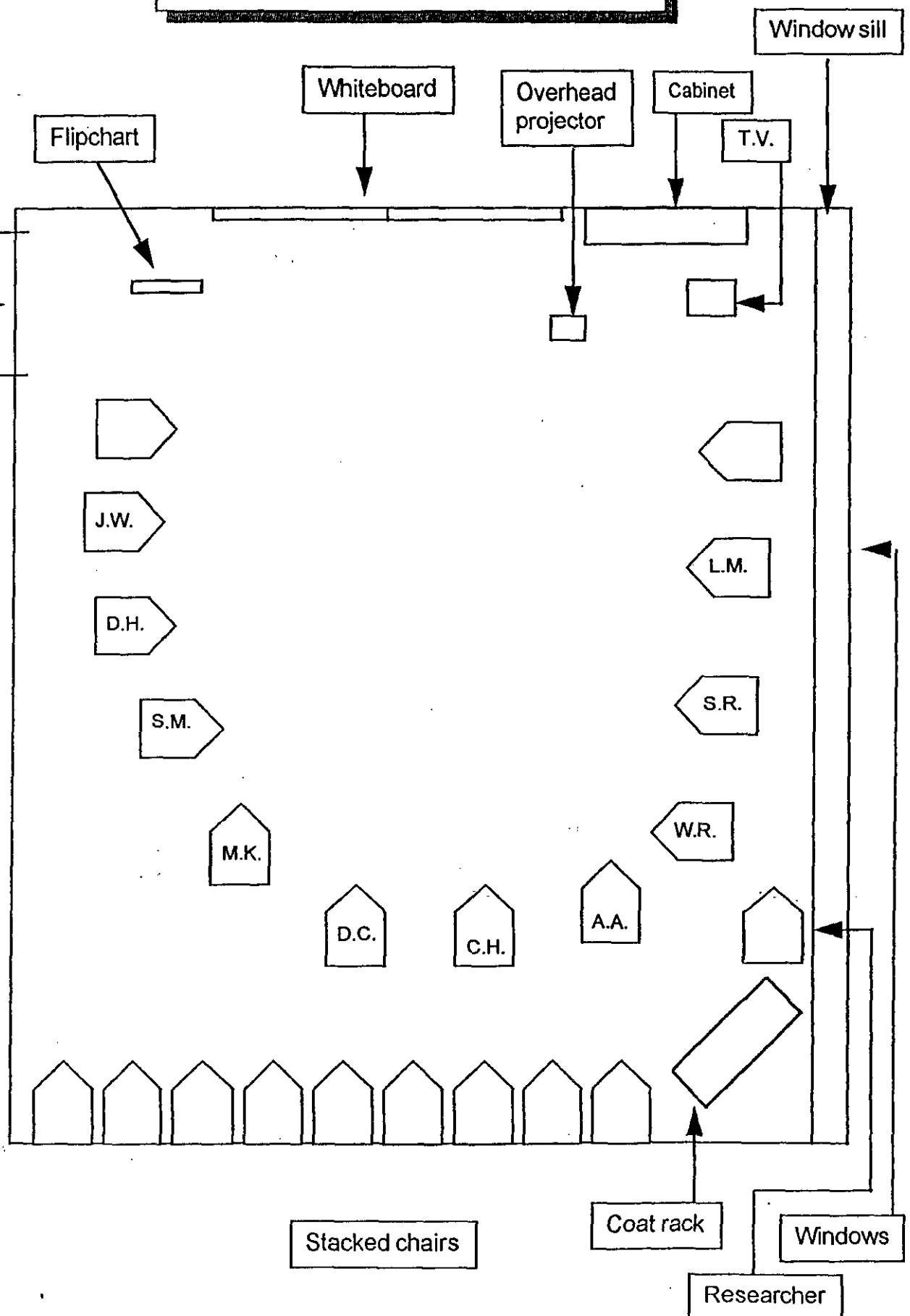
1177.		because they're outside// Right	
1178.		everyone happy so far?/ Right	
1179.		scenario eleven "An old gent down	Trainer reads
1180.		the road has just died and left	"scenario"
1181.		his house to his young nephew"/	from a sheet
1182.		You'll like this scenario "After	of paper (see
1183.		the will has been read the nephew	supporting
1184.		decides to visit the premises he	material).
1185.		has just acquired on he finds that	Students laugh.
1186.		some undesirables have already	
1187.		moved in. He manages to speak to	
1188.		them through an open window and	
1189.		asks them to leave. They refuse	
1190.		and claim squatters rights./ He	
1191.		then says if they refuse to go	
1192.		he will kick the door in and	
1193.		forcibly remove them with the help	
1194.		of some friends. The squatters say	
1195.		that under no circumstances will	
1196.		he be allowed into the premises"/	
1197.		Any Criminal Law Act offences?	
1198.	Student	Yes (.....)	
1199.	Trainer	And that just about sums it up	
1200.		really that is the Criminal Law	
1201.		Act sections six seven and eight/	
1202.		I have got a very short video for	
1203.		you to watch/ has anyone ever seen	
1204.		the "Criminal Law Act Rap" before	

1205.	Students	Yes (.....)	Students laugh.
1206.	Trainer	Do you want to see it again?	
1207.	Students	No	
1208.	Trainer	In that case I wont show it to you	
1209.		because I was going to do so as	
1210.		the sort of video that throughout	
1211.		your thirty years service you'll	
1212.		probably never forget but since	
1213.		you've already seen it I wont bore	
1214.		you with it// Right then see you	Students laugh.
1215.		tomorrow morning	
1216.	Student	Do you want these back?	Student hold's
	(D.H.)		up the sheets
			of paper with
1217.	Trainer	Yes please	the "scenarios"
			on them.

Students and trainer leave the classroom.

*Supporting Material
for “Charlie 6” Class*

Charlie 6 - Plan of classroom



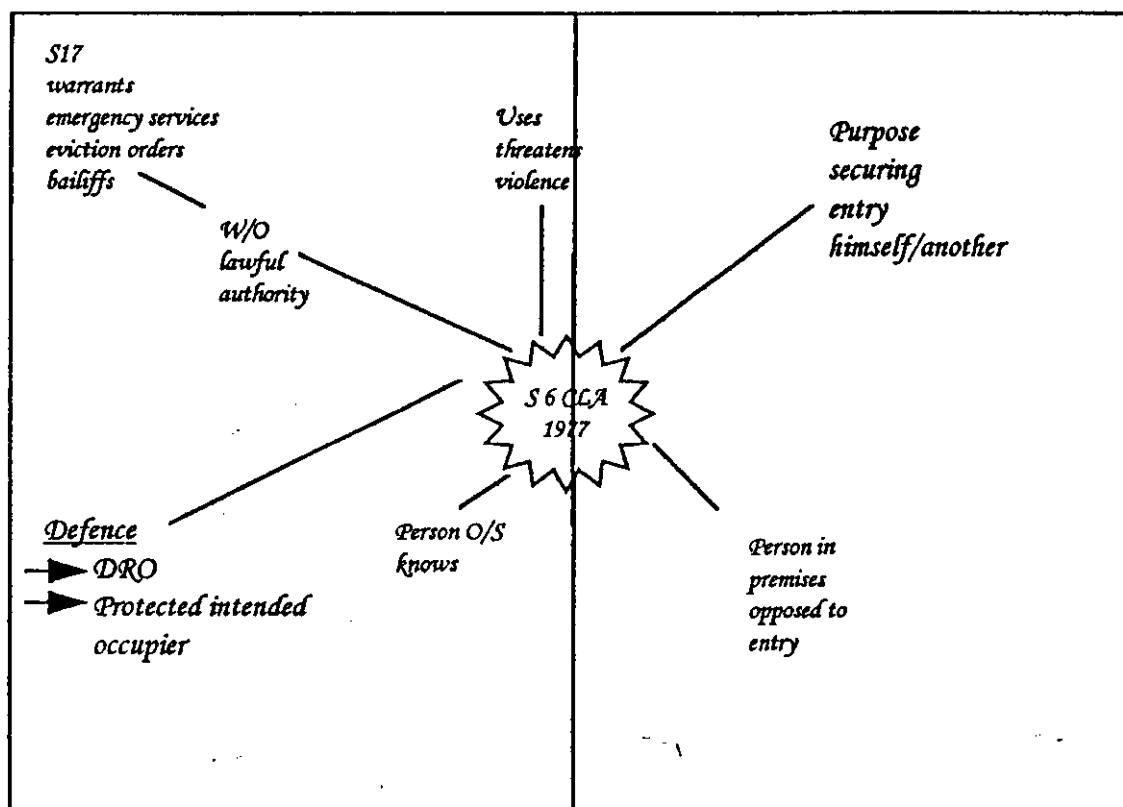
Charlie 6 - Flipchart 1

Criminal Law Act Scenario

1. —→ *Any other offences
deal with*
2. —→ *Person O/S attempting
entry.*
3. —→ *Person inside opposed
to entry.*

Call —→ ○○

Charlie 6 - Whiteboard 1



Charlie 6 - Whiteboard 2

S7 CLA
1977

Charlie 6 - Whiteboard 3

D.R.O.

- *Occupying Pr. as residence*
- *immediately before*
- *being excluded by trespasser*

Charlie 6 - Whiteboard 3 A

S 8 CLA 1977

Tr. with a weapon of offence

D.R.O.

- *Occupying Pr. as residence*
- *immediately before*
- *being excluded by trespasser*

Overhead Projector Slide 1.

ADVERSE OCCUPATION OF RESIDENTIAL PREMISES S 7 CRIMINAL LAW ACT 1977.

Any person who is on any premises as a trespasser after having entered as such is guilty of an offence if he fails to leave those premises on being required to do so by or on behalf of:

- (a) a displaced residential occupier of the premises OR
- (b) an individual who is a protected intended occupier of the premises.

DEFENCE.

For the accused to prove:

1. He believed that the person requiring him to leave was not the DRO or PIO or a person acting on their behalf.
2. The person requesting him to leave failed at the time to produce a written statement or certificate complying with the Act although he has been asked to do so by the accused.
3. The premises are or form part of premises used mainly for non residential purposes

AND

That he was not on any part of the premises used wholly or mainly for residential purposes

POWER OF ARREST.

A constable in uniform may arrest without warrant anyone who is, or whom with reasonable cause, suspects to be guilty of an offence.

POWER OF ENTRY.

S 17 PACE.

REQUIRE PREMISES FOR OWN OCCUPATION

EXCLUDED BY PERSON WHO ENTERED AS A TRESPASSER

Freehold / Leasehold with not less than 2yrs to run.

Tenancy / licence to landlord who has Freehold / Leasehold with > 2yrs to run.

Tenancy / Licence granted by Housing Authority.

Written Statement.
Interest in premises,
Residency required,
Signed by him,
and by JP or,
Commissioner for
Oaths

Written statement
Granted tenancy /
licence,
Landlords interest,
Residency required,
Signed by him and
by JP or Comm for
Oaths.

Written statement,
Housing Authority
Certificate

PROTECTED INTENDED OCCUPIER

CRIMINAL LAW ACT SCENARIOS.

For each scenario :

- 1. State whether the criterion for a Criminal Law Act situation applies.*
- 2. State why they apply.*
- 3. State what your actions you would take in each circumstance.*
- 4. State what offences under the Criminal Law Act have been committed.*

Scenario 1

A block of flats on your ground owned by the local council has been empty for some time. Some of the windows have been broken and the children are able to play inside.

A young and single mother lives nearby at her parents home with two young children. Conditions are very crowded. She is aware of the empty flats previously mentioned. With the help of a friend she gains entry to one of the flats and takes up residence.

A week later a local council housing officer arrives to commence repairs to the flats. He demands admission to the flat where the young mother is living and informs her that she is trespassing and tells her to leave.

She then barricades the door and windows, and refuses entry to the council official and tells him to clear off.

Scenario 2.

Considering the previous scenario, the young mother allows the housing official to enter the flat. The official tells her to leave the premises but she refuses. She then tells him to leave her home.

Scenario 3.

A local company is closing down and has made all their staff redundant. On the last day of their employment they barricade themselves into the premises in protest.

The next morning the manager arrives and demands entry to the premises. This is refused. They are then asked to leave, which they again refuse to do.

Scenario 4.

Considering the above scenario but this time when the manager arrives he is unaware of any person on the premises. He then forcibly gains entry to the premises.

Scenario 5.

A night club is holding a disco for over 25 year olds only. Some 20 year olds are refused entry by the bouncers.

The 20 year olds who are still on the street threaten to beat up the staff if they are not allowed inside.

Scenario 6.

This time imagine that the 20 year olds are in the foyer of the club.

Scenario 7.

The family have returned from holiday to find that squatters have taken up residence in their home.

The squatters refuse to leave, bolt all the doors and refuse to allow the family to enter.

Scenario 8.

On this occasion the family have returned home and gained entry to their home using a key. They find squatters on the premises asleep.

Scenario 9.

A man has returned home from collecting his children from school but is unable to gain access to the house. The door appears to be bolted from the inside. Through the window he can see his television, video and Hi Fi near the door.

He calls inside, "Let me in this is my house." Someone inside says "Not likely, clear off."

Scenario 10.

A young female is celebrating her 21st birthday at her parents home. All the expected guests have arrived and the party is in full swing. A group of local yobs have heard about the party and decide they will invite themselves.

At the front door they are told in no uncertain terms that their presence was not requested and they would not be allowed in. They then threaten to smash the door in if they are not allowed in.

Scenario 11.

An old gent down the road has just died and left his house to his young nephew in his will.

After the will has been read the nephew decides to visit the premises he has just acquired.

On his arrival he finds that some undesirables have already moved in. He manages to speak to them through an open window and asks them to leave. They refuse and claim squatters rights.

He then says that if they refuse to go he will kick in the door and forcibly remove them with the help of some friends. The squatters say that under no circumstances will he be allowed into the premises.

“Purple 3” Class:

A Transcript of a Lesson Involving the use of a

Role-Play

This lesson took place on 17.4.96 and commenced at 12.50 p.m.

This class consists of thirteen students (twelve male officers and one female officer [J.C.]) and two trainers. Both trainers are constables, one male, one female. All the participants are in shirt sleeves.

We join the class at 12.50 p.m. They have just finished preparing to briefings, in two smaller groups, for a role-play exercise in respect of police searching a private address for people suspected of committing a number of burglaries.

The class is set out as shown in the supporting material (plan 1).

The student (G.C.) is standing at the front of the class holding a clip board and is about to start the briefing element of the role-play.

- 1. Student Right the address we're going to
- 2. (G.C.) today is forty eight A Holmesdale
- 3. Road which is in South Norwood
- 4. S.E. twenty eight erm the address
- 5. is a bedsit and the two people that

6. we're after live on the ground floor
7. erm the first person that lives there
8. is a person called John Michael
9. McRennie and the description that
10. we've got is that he's five foot ten
11. he's got ginger hair and he's got
12. an Irish accent there might be two
13. other people there his brother and
14. his associate Patrick James
15. O'Reilly so there may be actually
16. three three on the premises now
17. Michael McRennie he has got
18. previous with a knife so exercise
19. extreme caution when
20. approaching him erm/ I'm in
21. charge and Jo if you could take
22. the book one oh one and be in
23. charge of the exhibits and any
24. other property that is actually
25. recovered there erm Gary and
26. Andy you will be the searching
27. officers actually searching the
28. premises and Dave and Steve
29. you're going to deal with the
30. security of the prisoners and
31. Barry you'll be security on the
32. door erm the main thing is that
33. there could be three people in
34. there and they've all got previous
35. for violence/ this McRennie has
36. got a white Sierra so if it's there

37. we'll have an idea if he's actually
38. in the address at the time erm
39. we'll all take P.R.s and we'll be
40. using channel five on the P.R.
41. and I'll inform the inspector when
42. we actually go in erm we're going
43. to do the raid at five thirty in the
44. morning so we can catch them off
45. guard erm we'll knock at the door
46. first to see if we get any response
47. but if not we'll just force our way
48. into the premises erm Barry if you
49. go in last and obviously wait by the
50. door and make sure that nobody
51. comes out the front (.....) erm the
52. first thing to do is to establish
53. who's actually in the address if it's
54. John Michael McRennie and
55. Patrick James O'Reilly they will be
56. arrested immediately by erm Dave
57. and Steve arrest them straight away
58. and we'll go into the bedroom and
59. obviously security is down to you
60. if we have prisoners erm it's only
61. a small room so it shouldn't take
62. too long to search it erm we'll
63. start off the search with Gary as
64. the erm and start running through
65. the room right the way around with
66. the erm we'll let the people who've
67. been arrested be in a position so

68. they can actually see both of you/
69. they can be brought over to you to
70. see what property you've found/
71. the property will be bagged up by
72. Jo and she will exhibit it erm the
73. property we're looking for is
74. pension books credit cards and
75. cheque books articles taken from
76. burglaries with elderly people and
77. gas board water board overalls
78. stuff like that they they used to get
79. in anything that is evidence really
80. erm/ O.K. ?

81.	Trainer	Thanks a lot/ take a seat/ right	Student (G.C.)
82.	(J.S.)	any comments on (.....) Jo	sits down with
83.		did you want to be exhibits officer	the rest of the
84.		or were you chosen?	students.

85. Student I was chosen
(J.C.)

86. Student (.....) her writing's the
87. (G.C.) neatest [
 [
 [
88. Trainer [(.....) just to make you
89. (J.S.) aware that a woman is always
90. chosen to be exhibits officer erm
91. why does Jo not (.....)/ you
92. might laugh but it's actually quite

93.		serious I was always told to look	
94.		after the kids (.....) married men	
95.		(.....) O.K. if that's the reason	
96.		why you chose her then that's	
97.		quite a good reason but just think	
98.		of the reason you are choosing	
99.		(.....) right there's other points	
100.		that we need to discuss but we'll	
101.		have the other group first so all	
102.		change run around now	Students in
			back row of
103.	Student	Right you all know that we've	class move to
104.	(T.D.)	been working on these burglars	front row.
105.		and from the information (.....)	Students in
106.		to erm John Michael McRennie	front row move
107.		and Patrick James O'Reilly erm	to back row (see
108.		(.....) John Michael	class plan 1 in
109.		McRennie is violent and has a	supporting
110.		knife so (.....) and Patrick	material).
111.		James O'Reilly is about six foot	
112.		and he's got dark hair// right	
113.		we've got a warrant to search the	
114.		premises for property stolen in	
115.		burglaries (.....) it's a ground	
116.		floor flat/ right during the search	
117.		obviously I'm in charge erm Paul	
118.		and Graham you (....) for the	
119.		prisoner and Dave you do some	
120.		searching (.....) right bear	
121.		in mind that the offence is	
122.		aggravated burglary and (.....)	

123. so we're not going to knock on the
 124. door or anything like that we're
 125. just going to bosh the door straight
 126. in (.....) right so Graham you
 127. take the door out and then Paul
 128. and myself will go in first erm if
 129. there's anybody in there (.....
 130.) and I'll produce the
 131. warrant show them the warrant
 132. and (.....) any
 133. questions at all?

134. Student (.....)

135. Student (.....)
 (T.D.)

136. Trainer Right O.K. sit down (.....) well
 137. (J.S.) you got through a lot of information
 138. there (.....) there's a couple
 139. of things that I think are worth
 140. mentioning (.....) I liked
 141. (.....)

142. Trainer (.....)
 (K.P.)

The remainder of this section of the tape was inaudible (I think that this was because the trainer's remained seated in the locations shown in the plan). However, at the end of the

session the trainer (K.P.) tosses a coin to determine which of the two briefing groups actually goes on to conduct a role-play search. The group consisting of the following students are identified as the search team: (G.C., D.T., A.M., S.P., G.H., J.C., B.R.).

Camera switched on (operated by trainer [M.W.]).

Scene as shown in the plan (see supporting material)

Trainer (J.S. is standing by the television with a clipboard, Trainer (K.P.) is standing by the door.

Trainer (R.M.) is lying on the bed with a sheet wrapped around him.

With the exception of R.M. all the trainers are wearing uniform. R.M. is dressed in a white short sleeved and open neck shirt, blue jeans and brown shoes.

There is a knock on the door, no response is made to this, a second knock sounds some 5 seconds after the first. Immediately following this, one of the students says "Police we're coming in". Seven students then enter the room led by G.C. Six of the students are male, one is female (J.C.). All are wearing police uniform (shirt sleeves). G.C. is carrying a clip board with some papers on it. Two of the male students and student (G.C.) approach the bed.

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 143. | Student | Right oh mate do you want to tell | Student (S.P.) |
| 144. | (S.P.) | us who you are? | taps trainer |
| | | | (R.M.) on |

145.	Trainer	Jimmy	the shoulder
	(R.M.)		with his hand.
146.	Student	Jimmy what?	
	(S.P.)		
147.	Trainer	Jimmy O'Reilly	
	(R.M.)		
148.	Student	Jimmy O'Reilly/ O.K. Jimmy I've	
149.	(G.C.)	got a warrant here to search these	
150.		premises in connection with two	
151.		burglary artifice that occurred at	
152.		thirty six Albert Road South	
153.		Norwood	[
			[
154.	Trainer		[Yeah yeah
	(R.M.)		[
			[
155.	Student		[You are
156.	(G.C.)	under arrest on suspicion of	
157.		burglary	[
			[
158.	Trainer		[Yeah yeah
	(R.M.)		[
			[
159.	Student		[You do not
160.	(G.C.)	have to say anything but if you do	
161.		not say something now which you	
162.		later rely on for your defence in	
163.		court	Student (J.C.)

164. Student O.K. stand up slowly mate
(S.P.) opens wardrobe door and looks inside it.
Student (S.P.)
165. Student We're just going to handcuff you
(D.T.) takes hold of Trainer's (R.M.) right arm and helps him to his feet. As trainer (R.M.) stands up,
Student (G.H.) takes his left arm.
166. Trainer Yeah
(R.M.) Students (S.P.) & (D.T.) place trainer (R.M.)'s hands behind his back but do not actually handcuff him.
Trainer (R.M.) keeps his hands behind his back for the remainder of the exercise.
167. Student O.K. we're now going to search

168. (G.C.) the premises to see if we can Students (S.P.)
169. find articles that were stolen in and (D.T.) start
170. *these burglaries that's cheque* to search
171. cards cheque books and some through trainer
172. cash do you want to tell me (R.M.)'s
173. where they are? pockets.
-
174. Trainer Are you enjoying that?/ I reckon Remark directed
175. (R.M.) you're enjoying this mate at Student
- (D.T.) as he
- continues to
- search trainer
- (R.M.).
-
176. Student Can you step over there// what's Trainer and
177. (A.M.) this then mate? students (S.P.)
- and (D.T.) step
- away from the
- bed, student
- (S.P.) finds a
- knife in one of
- trainer (R.D.)'s
- pockets and
- hands it to
- student (A.M.)
- who hands it to
- student (J.C.).
- She then writes
- in a book before
- placing the knife
- in a plastic bag.

178. Trainer **What's that? How did he get that?**
179. (R.M.) **He hasn't even touched me**
-
180. Student We found it in your pocket
 (A.M.)
-
181. Trainer What he found it he **hasn't** even
182. (R.M.) touched me
-
183. Student He found it
 (A.M.)
-
184. Trainer What he took it out?
 (R.M.)
-
185. Student I did
 (S.P.)
-
186. Trainer You took it out
 (R.M.)
-
187. Student I did then I passed it in to my
188. (S.P.) colleague
-
189. Trainer **Oh no no no** you're fitting me up
 (R.M.)
-
190. Student Barry can you get the box by the Student (B.R.)
191. (A.M.) front door// No it's outside looks by the

door.

192. Trainer Can I sit down I'm pissed off with
193. (R.M.) this now?

194. Student Is he clean now?
(C.G.)

195. Student Yeah
(D.T.)

196. Student All right Andy do you want to start Student (C.G.)
197. (C.G.) off and work your way around/ he's looks at Student
198. going to search the premises I (A.M.) and then
199. want you to watch what he's doing turns to trainer
(R.M.).

200. Trainer I tell you what I'm not standing up
201. (R.M.) all the time I'll sit down [[[You have
202. Student [You have
203. (C.G.) to watch what the officer's
204. doing [[[Oh I'll watch what he's
205. Trainer [Oh I'll watch what he's
206. (R.M.) doing but I'm not standing up all
207. the time I'm telling you/ where are
208. you going to look?

209. Student (.....)]
(J.C.) [[

210. Student [(....) exhibits [(A.M.) [[
211. Trainer [What are
212. (R.M.) they talking about then?
213. Student (.....) [(J.C.) [[
214. Student [(.....) (A.M.)
215. Trainer So what's going on then what's
216. (R.M.) happening?
217. Student As I told you we've got a warrant
218. (C.G.) to search these premises for stolen
219. articles relating in connection with
220. two burglaries which happened at
221. thirty six Albert Road and four A
222. Coldridge Road/ the articles we're
223. looking for are pension books
224. cheque cards and cheque
225. books [[
226. Trainer [What about the knife he
227. (R.M.) just took off me then?/ What's that
228. evidence of?
229. Student Sorry? (C.G.)

230.	Trainer (R.M.)	What's that evidence of a fit up ?	
231.	Student	In one of the burglaries a knife	
232.	(C.G.)	was used to threaten one of the	
233.		victim's so I'm going to take that	
234.		knife as evidence	
235.	Trainer (R.M.)	I've never seen it before	
236.	Student (C.G.)	O.K.	
237.	Trainer	What do I have to do then just	
238.	(R.M.)	stand here looking at my feet?	
239.		Can I sit down or something?	
240.	Student	If you wait a minute the officer is	Student (C.G.)
241.	(G.C.)	going to search the premises/	gestures with
242.		you watch what he's doing	towards student
			(G.H.).
243.	Trainer (R.M.)	Which officer?	
244.	Student (C.G.)	This one here	Student (G.C.)
			points to student
			(G.H.).
245.	Student	Yeah I'm going to start searching	Student (G.H.)

246. (G.H.) now// O.K. I've found that looks inside
the wardrobe
with student
(A.M.) He then
takes a small
white card
from inside it
and shows it to
trainer (R.M.).
247. Trainer Very nice to Student (G.H.)
(R.M.) gives the card to
student (A.M.).
and then
continues to
search the
wardrobe.
248. Student We've just found this Student (A.M.).
(A.M.). hands the card
to student
249. Student Who did? (J.C.).
(J.C.).
250. Student Gary
(A.M.). Student (J.C.)
makes a record
251. Student One I.D. badge? of the card in
(J.C.) the book she is
carrying and
252. Student Yeah/ in the top right hand corner then puts it in a
253. (A.M.) of the wardrobe plastic bag.

254. Student In the top right hand corner?
(J.C.)
255. Student Yeah in the ash tray
(A.M.)
256. Trainer I thought you said he was doing
257. (R.M.) the searching
258. Student I am doing the searching
(G.H.)
259. Trainer But he's searching
(R.M.)
260. Student *They're both doing it/ if you can*
261. (G.C.) watch what they're doing it'll save
262. time at the end of the day
263. Student Top right?
(J.C.)
264. Student Yeah top right in the ash tray// Are
265. (A.M.) you doing all down there
266. Student Yeah
(G.H.)
- Student (G.H.) continues to search in the wardrobe.
- Student (A.M.) returns to the wardrobe and continues to search it.
- Student (G.H.) is on is hands and knees searching the lower part of the wardrobe.
- Student (J.C.) places bag with

			card in it on the armchair.
267.	Trainer	What's that you've got?	Student (A.M.)
	(R.M.)		takes a boiler suit out of the wardrobe and places it in a plastic bag with student (J.C.)
268.	Student	A boiler suit// this is evidence of	
269.	(A.M.)	the offences you've committed	
270.	Trainer	I had nothing to do with it/	
271.	(R.M.)	what's that evidence of then?	
272.	Student	We'll talk about that when we get	
273.	(A.M.)	back to the station	
274.	Student	A boiler suit in the wardrobe	Student (J.C.)
	(J.C.)		is writing in a book.
275.	Student	Yeah in the wardrobe hanging	
276.	(A.M.)	up	
277.	Trainer	I want to sit down now	
	(R.M.)		
278.	Student	We want you to stand up	
	(S.P.)		
279.	Trainer	Well I am going to sit down you	
280.	(R.M.)	can't stop me/ you're not going to	
281.		hold me up are you/ I can sit on	
282.		the bed or the floor or my seat	

283.	Student	We want you to stand up	
	(S.P.)		
284.	Trainer	Well you can't make me stand up	
	(R.M.)		
285.	Student	Well sit down there then as long	Student (G.C.)
286.	(G.C.)	as you can see	points to chair
			by table. Trainer
287.	Trainer	Right that's all I want to do I don't	(R.M.) moves
288.	(R.M.)	want to make a fucking big deal	towards the
289.		out of it	chair and
			student (S.P.)
			picks up another
			small white card
			from the area of
			floor on which
			the trainer had
			been standing.
290.	Student	What's this?	Student (S.P.)
	(S.P.)		holds up the
			small white
291.	Trainer	Where did you get that from?	packet.
	(R.M.)		
292.	Student	It must have come from you	
	(S.P.)		
293.	Trainer	Oh bollocks it came out of me you	
294.	(R.M.)	searched me a minute ago	

295. Student Can you tell me what it is?
(S.P.)
296. Trainer Looks like plastic/ a square bit//
297. (R.M.) what you searched me and you're
298. telling me that came out of me/ no
299. way/ can I sit down now if you are Trainer (R.M.)
300. fitting me up you know I'm a sits down on
301. reasonable bloke a chair.
302. Student Right I'm going to arrest you for
303. (S.P.) suspicion of possession of a
304. controlled drug you do not have to
305. say anything but it may harm your
306. defence if you if you rely on
307. something in your defence which
308. you do not say now in response to
309. any questions anything you say
310. may be given in evidence
311. Trainer That's bollocks you searched me
312. (R.M.) he searched me/ where do you get Trainer (R.M.)
313. that from? nods his head
314. Student It came from you towards student
(S.P.) (D.T.).
315. Trainer **No way/ no way**
-

A number of items are removed from the wardrobe by students (A.M.) and (G.H.) and then handed to student (J.C.) who makes a record of them in the book she is carrying. The camera angle was such that the precise nature of those items was not clear on the tape. This process was accompanied by a muffled and generally indecipherable conversation between these students. The gist of this conversation would appear to relate to the most appropriate description to be recorded for these items and the precise location within the wardrobe where they were found.

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 316. | Trainer | What a fit up// (.....) | Student (A.M.) |
| | (R.M.) | | searches |
| | | | armchair 1 and |
| | | | pulls a knife and |
| | | | some monetary |
| | | | notes out from |
| | | | under a |
| | | | cushion. He |
| | | | then shows the |
| 317. | Student | These have just been taken from | knife to trainer. |
| | (A.M.) | the cushion behind the seat | |
| 318. | Trainer | What seat? | |
| | (R.M.) | | |
| 319. | Student | The seat I'm standing next to | |
| | (A.M.) | | |
| 320. | Trainer | You didn't tell me to watch did | Trainer (R.M.) |
| 321. | (R.M.) | you? He's talking to he / he says | looks towards |
| 322. | | he's found some drugs and the | student (G.C.) |

323.	next thing you come up with a	and then nods
324.	knife and some money/ fuck this	in the direction
		of student (J.C.)
		and student
		(G.H.)

Student (A.M.) hands the knife to student (B.R.) and starts to count the money. Student (J.C.) continues to make a record of some of the things found in the wardrobe. Muffled conversation concerning their description and the location in which they were discovered between student (J.C.) student (G.H.) continues for a time. This is then followed by a similar discussion concerning the "drugs" between student (J.C.) and student (S.P.).

325.	Trainer	So are you going to nick me for	
326.	(R.M.)	having money now?	
327.	Student	No	Student (A.M.)
	(A.M.)		puts the money
			in a plastic bag.
328.	Student	And there was no reply to caution	
	(S.P.)		
329.	Trainer	I did reply to caution what do you	
330.	(R.M.)	mean "no reply" I told you it was a	
331.		fucking fit up/ what do you mean	
332.		"no reply?/// Miss did you write	This remark is
333.		down "no reply" there// fucking hell	addressed to
334.		I say "It's a fit up" and you write	student (J.C.).

335. "No reply"/ he must have heard it Trainer (R.M.)
nods towards
336. Student No I didn't student (A.M.)
(A.M.)
337. Trainer You didn't hear me say "It's a
338. (R.M.) fucking fit up"?
339. Student No
(A.M.)
-

Muffled conversation between student (J.C.) and student (G.H.) concerning the description for and location of items found in the wardrobe continues. Student (A.M.) places a seal around the bag containing the money and then hands it to student (J.C.)

340. Student Fifty pounds in cash in ten pound
341. (A.M.) notes
342. Student All in ten pound notes?
(J.C.)
343. Student Yeah
(A.M.)
344. Student Where did you find it? Student (J.C.)
(J.C.) writes in her
book.

345. Student In the base of this cushion Student (A.M.)
(A.M.) points to
cushion on arm
346. Student Under the seat? chair 1 (see
(J.C.) supporting
material).
347. Student Yeah
(A.M.)
348. Trainer This is boring/ this is boring/ can't
349. (R.M.) we just go down to the nick?
350. Student No we're searching the premises
351. (G.H.) and this is a methodical way of
352. doing it
353. Trainer Some sort of a religion is it?
(R.M.)
354. Student And also Jo found in the same
355. (A.M.) position at the same time [
- [
356. Student [The
357. (J.C) same position at the same
358. time? [
- [
359. Student [was this Student (A.M.)
(A.M.) shows the knife
to student
360. Trainer Why are you taking that the pen (J.C.).

(R.M.) knife?

361. Student It could have gone in the same

362. (J.C.) bag as this

Student (J.C.)

indicates the

bag containing

the money.

363. Trainer Hello

(R.M.)

364. Student If you let us sort out what we

365. (G.C.) need yeah what we need as

366. evidence and then we can chat

367. about it down at the station and in

368. the interview you can have a

369. solicitor present and all that O.K.

370. but let us sort it all out first

371. Trainer Yeah but you told me I had to

372. (R.M.) watch for things you pointed out to

373. me and then you wont let me tell

374. you about it

375. Student Well you can tell us about it

376. (G.C.) but [

[

377. Trainer [Can I? [

(R.M.) [

[

378. Student [it's not really the

379. (G.C.) time to answer questions for us

380. to answer questions

381. Trainer **Fucking hell**
(R.M.)

382. Student One lock knife?
(J.C.)

383.	Student	Yeah "One lock knife"	Student (J.C.)
	(A.M.)		writes in her
			book.

Muffled conversation between student (J.C.) and student (A.M.) concerning the recording and packaging of the knife continues briefly and then student (A.M.) continues to search armchair 1. Trainer looks away, giving the appearance of boredom.

384. Student Do you want to continue watching
385. (G.C.) this Mister O'Reilly?

Having finished searching the arm chair, student's (A.M.), (G.H.) and (J.C.) pick a number of small plastic bags up from the floor and place them on the window sill before Student (G.C.) puts them all in a large plastic bag. These small bags would appear to be those in which the property found in the wardrobe, the chair and on the floor (the "Drugs") was placed.

386.	Trainer	Can I have my money back when	
387.	(R.M.)	you've finished?	
388.	Student	Yeah we'll sort that out when we	
389.	(G.C.)	get to the station// would you like	Students (A.M.)
390.		to move around there Mister	and (G.H.) walk
391.		O'Reilly so you can see what	away from the
392.		they're doing?	wardrobe and
			towards the
			television.
			Trainer (R.M.)
			remains seated
			but moves his
			position so he
			can see
			students (A.M.)
393.	Trainer	That's only Droopy	and (G.H.).
	(R.M.)		Student (A.M.)
			examines a soft
394.	Student	Is it?	toy he has
	(A.M.)		found on
			armchair 2,
395.	Trainer	Yeah	Student (G.H.)
	(R.M.)		finds some more
			monetary notes
			behind armchair
			2 and places
			them in a plastic
			bag.
396.	Student	That's twenty quid	Student (G.H.)
	(G.H.)		hands money he

- has found to
student (J.C.)
who writes in
her book.
397. Student Twenty quid O.K.// from
398. (J.C.) the back of the chair?
399. Student From the back of that chair by the
400. (G.H.) bed
Student (G.H.)
points to
armchair 2.
401. Trainer Can I go to the toilet?
(R.M.)
Students (A.M.)
and (G.H.)
move over to
402. Student Wait until we've searched
(G.H.)
the television
and start to
search the
403. Student Do you want to move over here
404. (A.M.) so you can see what we're doing?
cabinet under it.

Trainer remains seated as the search continues. Student (A.M.) finds another small plastic card in the television cabinet and hands it to student J.C.

405. Student Another card found it the (...)
406. (A.M.) box among the cards
Student J.C.
writes in her
book.
407. Trainer How long's this going to go on
408. (R.M.) for this is really boring now
409. Student Like I said we've got to search

410. (G.C.) the whole of the premises

Students (A.M.) and (G.H.) continue to search the cabinet under the television. Student (A.M.) finds another white plastic card and hands it to student (J.C.) who records the details in the book she is carrying.

411. Student Was that found in the same place?
(J.C.)

412. Student In the same place but in a

413. (A.M.) different box

414. Trainer Can you put the telly on?
(R.M.)

Students appear to ignore this request.

415. Student What's that a scrabble set?
(J.C.)

The camera is focused on the trainer at this point so the precise physical context of this remark is uncertain. However, it seems likely that the student is referring to

the box in which
the above
plastic card was
discovered by
student (A.M.).

416. Student Yeah
(A.M.)

417. Trainer What did you call it? Scrabble?

418. (R.M.) I've never heard of scrabble

419. Student Where was it?
(J.C.)

420. Student Sorry?
(A.M.)

421. Student Where was it?
(J.C.)

422. Student It was on the shelf under the telly
(A.M.)

423. Student Have you done all the cards?
(G.H.)

424. Student I've done all the cards but I

425. (A.M.) haven't taken out the base of the

426. box yet

Student (G.H.)
removes some

427. Trainer God this is really boring// I'm of the packing
428. (R.M.) telling you the next thing you fit material inside
429. me up with just show me it/ is the "scrabble"
430. that all right?// What's that? box. Student
431. Hello what's that one? (B.R.) seals the
bag into which
432. Student A cheque card the last referred
(B.R.) to piece of white
plastic has been
placed.
433. Trainer Well that's not my telly anyway
(R.M.)
-

The search continues in the absence to talk for several minutes.

434. Trainer It's all right I'm not going anywhere
435. (R.M.) you know
-

Search continues in the absence of talk for several minutes.

436. Student Have you done these magazines?
(A.M.)

437. Student Yeah I did all that lot under there
(G.H.)
438. Student Let's look under this/ lift it up
(A.M.)
439. Trainer What are you lifting the telly up
440. (R.M.) for?/ you'd better be careful
441. Student That's not very clean
(G.H.)
442. Trainer **What do you mean "not very**
443. (R.M.) **clean"** what do you think this
444. is a fucking dirty house?/ What
445. are you doing looking there
446. anyway?
447. Student The items we're looking for include
448. (G.C.) credit cards/ they're quite small
449. items so we're entitled to look
450. wherever we think they might be
-

Students (A.M.)
and (G.H.) pick
up the television
and student
(B.R.) looks
underneath it.
They find
nothing under
the television
and replace it.
Student (G.H.)
dusts his hands
off.

Student (B.R.) writes on some labels and attaches them to the plastic bags in which some of the property "discovered" by the students has been placed during the course of the exercise. Student (J.C.) makes a record of this in the book she is carrying. Some words are exchanged between them but, due to the noise made by a passing train, these were indecipherable.

451. Trainer I'm dying for a piss you know I

452. (R.M.) really am/ can't I go to the toilet?

453. Student Do you want to take him while we

454. (G.H.) sort this out and we can continue

455. the search when he comes back?

456. Trainer Will you take me to the loo?

(R.M.)

457. Student Yeah but if you go to the toilet we'll

458. (G.C.) wait till you come back to continue

459. the search

460. Student We'll wait to continue the search/

461. (A.M.) we don't want you making

462. allegations that we're planting

463. stuff on you

464. Trainer O.K. will you take me to the loo?

(R.M.)

465. Student Yeah but we'll obviously have to

466. (G.C.) stand in there with you you
467. understand
468. Trainer Yeah O.K. you've taken me to the
469. (R.M.) loo
- NB: Trainer
(R.M.)
effectively
suspends the
role-play for a
moment with
this remark.*

Student (B.R.) continues to attach labels to the plastic bags in which some of the property "discovered" by the students has been placed during the course of the exercise. Student (J.C.) makes a record of this in the book she is carrying. Students (A.M.) and (G.H.) move away from the television and start searching other areas of the room.

-
470. Trainer Will they be much longer?/ (.....)/
471. (R.M.) that's a real one that's worth a bit
472. of wedge be careful with that will
473. you please
- Trainer (R.M.)
- appears to
- address this
- comment to
- student (D.T.)
- who doesn't
- respond
- Student (G.H.)
- takes an antique
474. Student (.....) [battle axe down
- (G.H.) [from behind a

		[wall clock.
475.	Trainer	[(.....) [
	(R.M.)	[
		[
476.	Student	[(.....) [
	(A.M.)	[
		[
477.	Trainer	[(.....)//	
478.	(R.M.)	When you're finished there can you	
479.		search the table so I can lean back	Student (G.H.)
480.		on my chair// It's no big deal is it?	hands another
481.		All I'm asking is that you search	white plastic
482.		the table next I know that you're	card to
483.		going to search my bed next but	student (J.C.)
484.		it still doesn't matter does it?	who records
			details of it in
			her book.
			Student (A.M.)
			begins to search
			the chest of
			drawers.
485.	Student	Here's thirty quid	The camera was
	(G.H.)		focusing on
			student (A.M.)
486.	Trainer	What you've got more money?	as he searched
	(R.M.)		the chest of
			drawers at this
487.	Student	Yeah	point in time -
	(G.H.)		these comments
			appear to
488.	Trainer	Where did that come from then?	relate to

	(R.M.)		student's (G.H.)
			activities as he
489.	Student	The erm candle holder on top of	continues his
	(G.H.)	the (.....)	search of the
			room.
490.	Trainer	He didn't say he'd found money	
491.	(R.M.)	anywhere// Excuse me he didn't	
492.		tell me he'd found that money he	
493.		just wandered over here and said	
494.		"Here's thirty quid" and I wondered	
495.		what he was talking about	
496.	Student	You were asked to erm watch all	
497.	(G.C.)	the time weren't you?	
498.	Trainer	Yeah but yeah I was watching but	
499.	(R.M.)	he didn't say to me "Look I found	
500.		some wedge over there" the first	
501.		thing I know is he's got some	
502.		money in his hand/ the second	
503.		time he's done that he fits me up	A small square
504.		with some drugs and he gives me	package drops
505.		some wedge	to the floor from
			an item of
			clothing being
			searched by
			Student (A.M.)
			that he has
			removed from
			the chest of

			drawers.
506.	Student	That's just dropped out of some	Student (A.M.)
507.	(A.M.)	clothing	picks it up and
			shows it to
508.	Trainer	See he's fair he is that's not mine	trainer (R.M.).
509.	(R.M.)	but at least he's fair// that's not	Student (A.M.)
510.		mine anyway it wouldn't fit me	continues to
511.		I've never worn green I hate	search the
512.		green// can I have some of my	garment that the
513.		drink?	small packet fell
			from, student
514.	Student	I suppose so	(J.C.) continues
	(G.C.)		to record details
			of items found
515.	Trainer	Ta/ I just want to take one cup/	in her book.
516.	(R.M.)	you can hold my arm whatever	Student (A.M.)
517.		you want I'm just thirsty// what	hands the
518.		you've found more stuff?	square packet
			to student (J.C.)
519.	Student	No that's what I've just shown you	
520.	(A.M.)	now	
521.	Trainer	Fair enough/ he's fair he is I like	
522.	(R.M.)	him	
523.	Student	If you find any stuff can you	
522.	(G.C.)	actually call out that you've found	
523.		it	This remark
			appears to be
			addressed to

student (G.H.)
who is still
searching the
room.

524. Trainer Are you finished?
 (R.M.)

525. Student We've just got to do the table
 (G.C.)

526. Trainer Right can you do that so I can
527. (R.M.) just lean back on my chair

528. Student (.....) [
 (J.C.) [
 [
529. Student [(.....)
 (A.M.)

530. Student Do you just want to stand up a
531. (S.P.) minute// there you go

Trainer (R.M.)
stands up
assisted by
students (S.P.)
and (D.T.)
while his chair
is re-positioned.
Since the
camera was
focused on the
trainer at this

time, the reason
for this remains
uncertain but it
seems likely
that it was in
order to permit
him to have a
greater view of
the continuing
search process

532. Student I found it in the top drawer in that
533. (A.M.) green jumper

Student (J.C.)
continues to
record details of
the square
packet referred
to above in the
book she is
carrying.

534. Student Have you searched everywhere in
535. (G.H.) here?

536. Student Yeah that stuff just came out of
537. (A.M.) there

Student (G.H.)
is indicating to a
book on the top
of chest of
drawers.
Student (A.M.)
points at book
on the top of the
chest of drawers

and then goes
back to student
(J.C.). Student
(G.H.) then
opens one of
the lower
drawers and
searches it.

538. Student (.....)
(J.C.)
539. Trainer But nothing that's what?
(R.M.)
540. Student That actually relates to the
541. (J.C.) victims [
542. Trainer [Do they not [
543. Student [of the
544. (J.C.) burglaries
545. Trainer Oh right/ that's a result isn't it
(R.M.)
546. Student (.....)
(J.C.)
547. Trainer What?
(R.M.)

548. Student Thirty six Albert Road and four A
 549. (G.C.) Coldridge Road so it would save
 550. time if you tell us where the [
 [
 551. Trainer [You
 552. (R.M.) told me not to say anything five
 553. minutes ago and half an hour ago
 554. you said don't say nothing now
 555. you're asking me questions about
 556. a burglary what do you want from
 557. me?

 558. Student **I've told you several times why**
 559. (G.C.) we're here

 560. Trainer Yeah yeah I know but now you're
 561. (R.M.) asking questions about did I
 562. commit a burglary you told me a
 563. minute ago that you'd nicked me
 564. and don't say anything

 565. Student Just asking if you want to tell us
 566. (G.C.) where the property is to save time

 567. Trainer You want to ask me about a
 568. (R.M.) burglary I didn't commit/ fucking
 569. hell you tell me don't say nothing
 570. and then ask me questions/ she
 571. said you've found nothing anyway

 572. Student *We've found property which hasn't*

573. (G.C.) got your name on

574. Trainer Yeah and she said it was nothing

575. (R.M.) to do with the burglaries so that's

576. a result so you might as well let me

577. go

Search continues in silence for a short time

578. Trainer (.....) sit in my chair

(R.M.)

579. Student Not until we've searched around

Student (D.T.)

580. (D.T.) there

nods towards
the table.

581. Trainer What the table I told you to do

582. that that's what I asked you to do

Search continues for a short time. Student (G.H.) takes a small rectangular book from one of the lower drawers in the chest of drawers.

583. Student A pension book?

(G.H.)

584.	Trainer	Yeah it's nice of you to show me	Student (G.H.)
585.	(R.M.)	this time/ nothing to do with me	hands the
586.		though	rectangular
			book to student
			(J.C.) who
			makes a record
			of it in her book.

587.	Trainer	Right O.K. we'll call it a day
588.	(J.S.)	there/ all right because you
589.		could go on and find some more
590.		property/ shall we go next door?

CAMERA SWITCHED OFF AS STUDENTS RETURN TO THE CLASSROOM

The classroom layout has been altered as the students who participated in the role-play return to the classroom (see supporting material - plan 2). Two additional trainers enter the classroom with the role-players. Both are men. The first (M.W.) is a sergeant who operated the camera during the role-player, the second (R.M.) is a constable who role-played the suspected criminal. M.W. is wearing uniform (shirt sleeves), R.M. is wearing plain clothes.

591. Trainer Right O.K. Gary you were in
 592. (J.S.) charge of that let's start with
 593. you/ how did you feel it went?

 594. Student Yeah we went in obviously and
 595. (G.C.) I thought that we dealt with the
 596. security of the prisoner quite
 597. well erm but maybe we should
 598. have emphasised more the
 599. property found by saying "I've
 600. found this" erm that's about it
 601. really

 602. Trainer O.K. the team that were actually
 603. (J.S.) involved in the search erm Jo
 604. how was being exhibit officer?

 605. Student A nightmare I mean I don't know
 606. (J.C.) whether I wrote the right thing I
 607. was just trying to get down (.....)
 608. so I couldn't really (.....) I
 609. didn't seal all the bags I just put in
 610. a label (.....)

 611. Trainer You were quite methodical weren't
 612. (J.S.) you? You decided where to start
 613. erm I did get quite concerned that
 614. you were going to stop over there
 615. and then go to the table but you
 616. were quite happy going around and
 617. you knew exactly where to go next

618. didn't you/ that was good erm you
619. were in control of the search

620. Student (.....) I was quite
621. (J.C.) concerned that we took his word
622. for it that nobody else was there
623. (.....) I think it would've been
624. better if we'd just done a quick
625. search of the room first then gone
626. back (.....)

627. Trainer Yeah you've got the nightmare
628. (M.W.) scenario really of someone jumping
629. out at you/ what you've got to
630. realise is that they could be
631. involved in anything they could be
632. involved in terrorism/ I mean take
633. the bus bomber a twenty one year
634. old who lived in Lewisham/ they
635. don't have "Terrorist" stamped on
636. their head erm you could just be
637. turning his address over for a bit of
638. information and there's all this
639. semtex there/ you've got to have
640. this at the back of your mind
641. somewhere erm as Jo said you've
642. really got to make the flat safe you
643. know before you get on with the
644. search

645. Trainer (.....) right go through what

646. (K.P.) happened when you first went
647. through the door Gary

648. Student Erm we knocked on the door and
649. (G.C.) got no reply (.....) saw the man
650. lying on the bed and I introduced
651. myself and said we had a warrant
652. to search the premises erm
653. arrested him and cautioned him
654. and told him what we were going
655. to do search the premises

656. Trainer Just prior to that?
(K.P.)

657. Student (.....)
(G.C.)

658. Trainer Can we just go for one sec back
659. (J.C.) from that erm when you went in
660. and you introduced yourself Rod
661. was lying there and his hand erm
662. this hand was doing this because
663. he was lying in bed yeah/ and you
664. were all around controlling almost
665. controlling this side but you couldn't
666. actually see what he was doing erm
667. was there anything in that hand
668. Rod?

Trainer (JC)
holds up left
arm and then
puts it down
by her side.

669. Trainer Big knife

(R.M.)

670. Trainer A big knife yeah it may have been
671. (J.S.) worth someone going around the
672. other side and getting him up you
673. know "Hands up behind you you're
674. nicked"/ do you have to take hold
675. of him after you've told him he's
676. under arrest?

677. Student No

678. Trainer No but you do for security "Right
679. (J.S.) O.K. mate you've been arrested
680. for " and cautioned bosh you've
681. then got control of him if his
682. hands are up behind his back and
683. there's no way that he's going to
684. say "Nicked no I won't be nicked"
685. and then turn around with a knife
686. because some people just don't
687. want to be nicked

688. Trainer That's right yeah

(M.W.)

689. Student (.....)

690. Trainer It just shows you though doesn't
691. (M.W.) it even in a situation where you
692. hear he's violent and you know

693. we've all probably done it there's
 694. no person in this room that hasn't
 695. but this sort of thing should be
 696. bred into you that just bending
 697. over somebody well you just don't
 698. know what they're up to do you?
 699. You've got no control over them
 700. and that is a very dangerous
 701. position particularly when you're
 702. just waking up just think when
 703. you're just waking up what's the
 704. natural reaction?

 705. Student (.....)

 706. Trainer That's right yeah it's a natural
 707. (M.W.) reaction isn't it?

 708. Student To defend yourself

 709. Trainer That's right yeah/ the natural
 710. (M.W.) reaction is to defend yourself/ it's
 711. an animal reaction in us

 712. Trainer (.....) [
 (K.P.) [
 [
 713. Trainer [(.....)
 (J.S.)

 714. Trainer You've got control of the situation

715. (M.W.) totally then haven't you?

716. Student (.....) [

717. Trainer [What did they teach you

718. (J.S.) about the defence area?

719. Student (.....)

720. Trainer Right so if he'd have gone like that
(J.S.) he'd have got plenty of you

Trainer (J.S.)
moves her arm
around in an

721. Trainer Whose guard goes down when the

arc.

722. (M.W.) old cuffs go on?

723. Student Ours

724. Trainer Yeah it does doesn't it? I mean you

725. (M.W.) have to accept that it does go down

726. but it shouldn't should it?/ You're

727. guard should be still sort of quite

728. raised up just because he's

729. handcuffed it doesn't mean that he

730. can't take it out on somebody/ if

731. he knows that he's got caught and

732. he's somebody with a history of

733. violence (.....)

734. Trainer (.....)
(K.P.)

735. Trainer Right but saying that I thought

736. (J.S.) excellent introduction Gary/ it was

737. really good you explained it and

738. he was left in no doubt as to why

739. you were there yeah and I thought

740. that that was really good/ when

741. you took control that was really

742. good

743. Trainer What about "I want to go for a

744. (K.P.) piss/ I want to go for a piss/ look

745. I want to sit down"/ is that a

746. reasonable request?

747. Student Yeah

748. Trainer Yeah (.....) officer safety and

749. (K.P.) also evidence (.....)

750. Student [(.....)

751. Trainer Yeah and what about the card?

752. (K.P.) We search a prisoner and five

753. minutes later "Where did that

754. come from?" O.K. so that might tell

755. you something about the first

756. search was that an adequate search?

757. Student (.....)

(G.C.)

[

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758. Student [(.....) [

[

759. Trainer [(.....) [

(K.P.) [

[

760. Student [(.....)

761. Trainer So it's a real dilemma isn't it? It is

762. (M.W.) a very difficult dilemma and I don't

763. think that there's ever going to be

764. an answer I mean those that are

765. really safety conscious will say

766. "Well it's bad luck he'll have to

767. wait" and if it becomes [

[

768. Student [(.....)

769. Trainer Well it may be that you get into a

770. (M.W.) situation where he starts to

771. become disruptive and you can't

772. search him there so you decide he

773. has to be taken down to the police

774. station and you have to continue

775. that search without him and just

776. accept it for what it is (.....) if he's

777. a violent individual somebody who's

778. likely to explode then maybe that's

779. best [

[

780. Student [(.....) credibility of the

781. evidence [

[

782. Trainer [It is I mean once again

783. (M.W.) this is the dilemma you've got

784. things about the credibility of the

785. evidence erm it's a very difficult

786. area and I don't think there's ever

787. going to be a correct answer to it

788. because you have to go with the

789. situation you've got/ I mean the

790. sole reason for having him there is

791. the credibility of the evidence and

792. the credibility of the search as a

793. whole but if he becomes so

794. disruptive that you can't search

795. properly anyway you've got to take

796. him away/ I mean I would in that

797. situation/ if somebody was that

798. disruptive you've got no option/ I

799. mean you've got to think about

800. armed incidents or armed

801. searches they're not generally

802. going to have the person that's

803. likely to shoot somebody in the

804. premises/ they'll get taken out by

805. S.O. nineteen and taken down the

806. police station and the search'll

807. continue without them and if (.....)

808. there's nothing you can do about

809. that

810. Trainer Erm I thought it was a good

Trainer (J.S.)

(J.S.)	explanation as to why you seized the knife you told him it was involved in one of the burglaries/ I liked that ()	looks at some notes on her clip board.
--------	--	--

811. Student (.....)

812. Student	(.....)	[
(G.C.)		[
		[

813. Student [(.....)

814. Trainer	Actually I think that it would have
815. (M.W.)	the opposite effect I think that if
816.	you speak to your I.D.O.s they
817.	would prefer that you handle
818.	things without the gloves/ I know
819.	that for our personal safety sake
820.	I would wear the gloves but if you
821.	know that there's going to be an
822.	evidential dispute over whether
823.	he's handled the knife gloves
824.	would actually wipe the prints
825.	away/ our fingerprints can be
826.	traced can't they whereas with
827.	gloves while you might think
828.	you're safe with them you're
829.	wiping the marks off/ you'll find
830.	that with I.D.O.s they'll say "We
831.	don't handle stuff like that (.....)
832.	it's best to handle stuff without

833. gloves because you don't wipe
 834. off any marks"/ once again it's
 835. this dilemma between safety
 836. and evidence evidential need
 837. isn't it? You're always going to
 838. have this dilemma in any case
 839. that you deal with/ if I was
 840. searching as the searching officer
 841. I would wear gloves (.....) I
 842. mean where do you get the best
 843. marks on a knife? On the handle
 844. or on the blade?/ What's the best
 845. surface on a knife?

846. Student On the blade

847. Trainer On the blade itself isn't it (.....)
 (M.W.)

848. Student (.....)
 (J.C.)

849. Trainer (....) are you still going to seize it?
 (J.S.)

850. Student (.....) you can ask
 851. (G.C.) questions

852. Trainer Which you did didn't you you
 853. (J.S.) said "Look I'm investigating this
 854. offence tell me where the property

855. is relating to these burglaries at
 856. these addresses"

857. Student Is it O.K. to do that?
 (G.C.)

858. Trainer Yes you're asking questions for
 859. (J.S.) the effective conduct of the search/
 860. if he had then come out with all the
 861. property that you were looking for
 862. would there have been grounds to
 863. carry on and look for further things?

864. Student No
 (J.C.)

865. Trainer So you're giving him the
 866. (J.S.) opportunity to come out with it all/
 867. O.K. you may have found a few
 868. other bits and pieces but why not
 869. ask him?

870. Student (.....)

871. Trainer The problem is that unsolicited
 872. (K.P.) comments have got to be what?//
 873. They've got to be recorded (.....
 874.) were there any relevant
 875. comments?

876. Student Yeah

877. Trainer Can you remember them?
 (K.P.)
878. Student I can remember one or two but (.....)
879. Student (.....)
 (J.C.)
880. Trainer Yeah but whose the officer in the
881. (K.P.) case? Who's decided whose doing
882. what?
883. Student (.....)
 (G.C.)
884. Trainer So how could Jo be helped out?
885. (M.W.) What would help you out Jo?
886. Student It would have been nice if (.....)
 (J.C.)
887. Trainer That's the practical option isn't it?
888. (M.W.) Yeah that is the practical option
889. Student (.....)
 (J.C.)
890. Trainer (.....) half and hour or hour
891. (K.P.) search/ what else?

892. Student (.....)
(J.C.)
893. Trainer Oh I missed that
(M.W.)
894. Student (.....)
895. Trainer *Isn't it hard not to chip in when*
896. (M.W.) *you're all the same rank? Would*
897. *you agree with that?/ Yeah? I got*
898. *in to trouble for doing that on*
899. *more than one occasion when I*
900. *was a P.C./ either we all made*
901. *the wrong decisions or no one*
902. *made a decision we all opted out*
903. *and no decision was made (.....)*
904. *but you have got to keep your*
905. *heads down and get on with the*
906. *job in hand without a doubt that's*
907. *why you've got the officer in*
908. *charge so he can keep an*
909. *overview on it so he can pick up on*
910. *some of these things/ I mean it*
911. *shouldn't be a major issue because*
912. *as you quite rightly said he's been*
913. *nicked for burglaries and (.....)*
914. *and you may or may not get the*
915. *stuff that you came to search for*
916. Trainer What about the erm anything else

917. (J.S.) from the people involved in the
 918. actual search?// What about you
 919. that were watching how do you
 920. feel?
 921. Student (.....) I wasn't sure about the
 922. cardigan (.....) that wasn't on
 923. the list though

 924. Trainer Well I don't know because think
 925. (M.W.) about it you're only going by two
 926. do burglars only do two? How
 927. many do they do? Loads I mean it
 928. may be something that's pertinent
 929. because you've got loads of stuff
 930. that may have related to other
 931. burglaries/ what do burglars use to
 932. wrap the old gear up in?/
 933. Whatever's available at the time old
 934. clothes rubbish bags/ you don't
 935. know so it's worth considering

 937. Trainer Right so any observations other than
 938. (J.S.) the one's you've already brought up?

 939. Student (.....)

 940. Trainer We knew who was in control didn't
 941. (J.S.) we? Gary (.....)

 942. Student (.....) started to speak a bit clearer

964. Student (.....)
(G.H.)

965. Trainer Right was that a good thing or a
966. (J.S.) bad thing?

967. Student In one respect I suppose it was
968. (G.H.) (.....)

969. Trainer So looking at officer safety again
970. (J.S.) they (.....) [
 [
971. Student [(.....) [
 (G.H.) [
 [
972. Trainer [(.....
973. (M.W.)) yeah you're right there
974. because everything is centred
975. around the exhibit's officer because
976. as we've already said if you're
977. dealing with a lot of property you
978. should really give them a couple of
979. seconds break before you start
980. writing again because you're
981. continually working otherwise so
982. mistakes can be made and at the
983. end of the day where does a court
984. get most of it's information from a
985. search?
986. Student From the exhibit's officer

987. Trainer That's right and if they're pushed
 988. (M.W.) and rushed then they're going to
 989. make mistakes it's human to do
 990. that so to lessen that chance you
 991. need to give them the opportunity
 992. to completely finish what they're
 993. doing before (.....)
994. Student 1 What about the security of the
 995. prisoners (.....) [
996. Student 2 [(.....) [
997. Trainer [(.....)
 (M.W.)
998. Trainer Just going back to the sitting down
 999. (J.S.) point I mean is that a good position
 1000. for the prisoner to be?
1001. Student (.....)
1002. Trainer Yeah can he really get his legs up
 1003. (J.S.) erm if he's going to move you're
 1004. going to know about it aren't you
 1005. because if his hands are up behind
 1006. his back cuffed you're going to
 1007. know about before he goes that
 1008. he's going to try and go it's not like
 1009. he's standing there and he just
 1010. decides to go/ he's actually got to

1011.		put some effort in so that's a good	
1012.		position (.....)	[
			[
1013.	Trainer		[(.....) the
1014.	(R.M.)	knife (.....)	[
			[
1015.	Trainer		[(.....) [
	(J.S.)		[
			[
1016.	Trainer		[(.....)
	(R.M.)		
1017.	Trainer	What about the way you were	
1018.	(J.S.)	dealt with spoken too?	
1019.	Trainer	It was a bit of a result when Jo said	
1020.	(R.M.)	about the property (.....) other	Students and
1021.		than that very good	trainers laugh.
1022.	Trainer	Any other points?	
	(J.S.)		
1023.	Trainer	Well I thought it was very good/	
1024.	(M.W.)	overall I think that you were very	
1025.		methodical/ it's something worth	
1026.		reflecting you can obviously	
1027.		highlight the areas that Jo's	
1028.		complained about and that's	
1029.		standard by the way as far as	
1030.		exhibit's officers are concerned/	
1031.		on most of the searches that I've	

1032. watched they moan about the fact
 1033. that they don't get the opportunity
 1034. to draw breath

1035. Trainer O.K. was it a useful exercise?
 (J.S.)

1036. Students Yeah

1037. Trainer Have you learnt something out of
 1038. (J.S.) it?

1039. Student (.....)

1040. Trainer So you're saying that they don't
 1041. (M.W.) debrief

1042. Student (.....)

1043. Trainer There's only one way of improving
 1044. (M.W.) them I mean obviously I'm a
 1045. believer in that I've been teaching
 1046. this method the method you used
 1047. for four years now and it shouldn't
 1048. surprise me but I'm sure that when
 1049. I go back out there they'll be doing
 1050. exactly the same as when I first
 1051. came up and yet the hundreds of
 1052. people that I've trained the
 1053. probationers that are aware of
 1054. these methods erm you do see it

1055. happen occasionally it being done
1056. in a proper manner but most
1057. people seem to be chasing the
1058. clock all the time and when you
1059. think about it this is the best time
1060. there's no relevant time clock
1061. ticking the person's been arrested
1062. you're in control you've got all the
1063. time in the world to do the thing
1064. thoroughly/ if you know that you've
1065. got to search in as many places as
1066. possible because of the type of
1067. evidence that you're looking for
1068. take your time and the detention
1069. clock doesn't start ticking until
1070. you get back

1071. Trainer You might never get a second
1072. (J.S.) chance go back

1073. Trainer You'll never know what you've
1074. (M.W.) missed but saying that if you give
1075. yourself the best opportunity then
1076. you'll know that you've done the
1077. best that you can you've looked
1078. everywhere but you'll never ever
1079. know/ do you remember the
1080. Clapham search?/ The I.R.A.
1081. guy who got erm the bloke who
1082. broke into his car and he got shot
1083. in Clapham and that was where

1084. they found the I.R.A. hit list and
1085. that hit list didn't come to light
1086. until after about the third search
1087. and that was because the old
1088. caretaker who was re-painting
1090. the flat after they'd stripped the
1091. place bare phoned up and said
1092. "We found some more stuff"
1093. thought it could be some semtex
1094. or something you know it was "Oh
1095. shit" and of course they went back
1096. and had to do another a re-search
1097. and they eventually found this hit
1098. list hidden behind a brick or
1099. something so even though they'd
1100. stripped the whole place bare
1101. they'd missed stuff

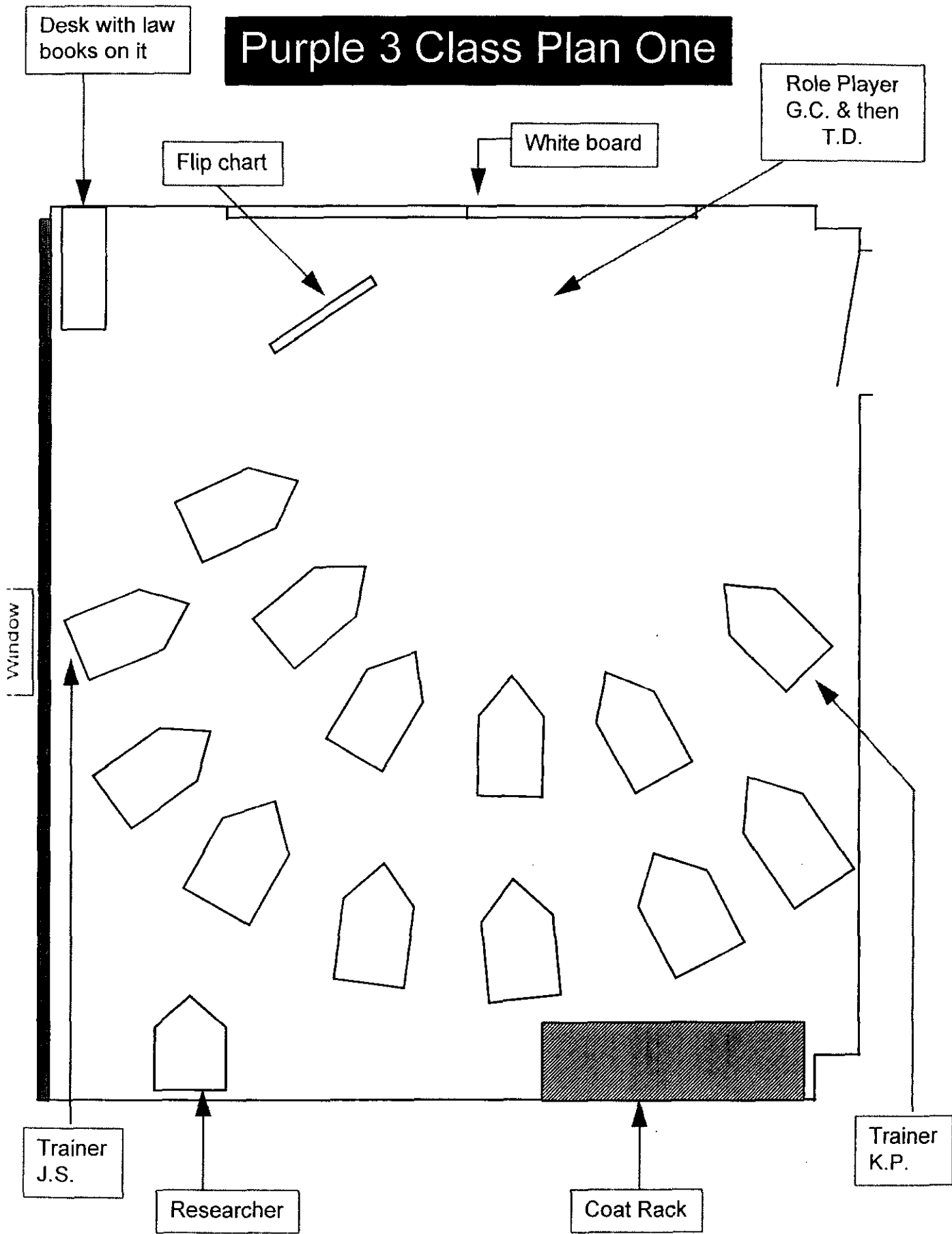
1102. Trainer (.....)
(R.M.)

1103. Trainer O.K. well done thank you for your
1104. (J.S.) effort and we'll leave it there for
1105. the day/ it has been quite a long
1106. day and you did really well/ I'll see
1107. you back here tomorrow erm it's
1108. P.T. tomorrow so don't forget your
1109. kit bring your batons and belts/
1110. well done

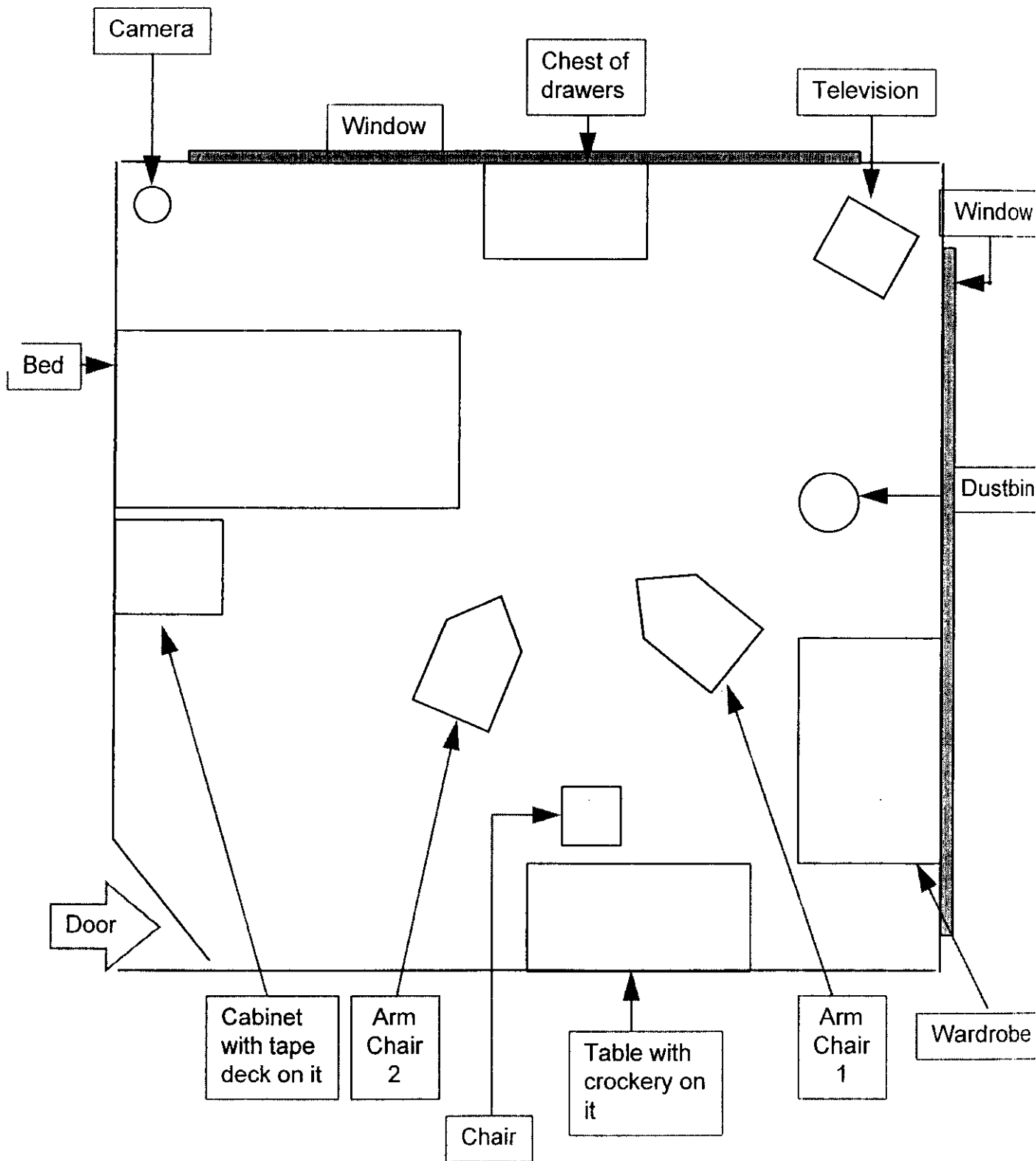
*****TAPE TURNED OFF*****

*Supporting Material
for “Purple 3” Class*

Purple 3 Class Plan One



Purple 3: Role Play Scene



Purple 3 Class Plan Two

